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ABSTRACT

This book accompanied by the Teacher's guide, focuses on policy issues being discussed and debated by U.S. policymakers. The book provides essays on current issues facing the nation and the world. Ten chapters highlight domestic policy issues and 10 chapters are about foreign policy issues. This book informs readers about important concerns of today and leaves judgments up to the individual. The book is divided into three sections. Part 1, "The Federal Government", includes: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "The Clinton Administration"; (3) "The 104th Congress"; (4) "The Supreme Court"; and (5) "The Federal Budget". Part 2, "Domestic Policy Issues", contains: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "The Economy"; (3) "Education"; (4) "Women and Minorities"; (5) "Poverty"; (6) "Health Care"; (7) "Immigration"; (8) "Energy"; (9) "Environment"; (10) "Constitutional Rights"; and (11) "Crime and Drugs". Part 3, "Foreign Policy Issues", includes: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "Russia"; (3) "Defense"; (4) "Latin America"; (5) "The Middle East"; (6) "International Trade"; (7) "Europe"; (8) "Nuclear Proliferation"; (9) "World Poverty"; (10) "Sub-Saharan Africa"; and (11) "East Asia." Each chapter provides basic background information, identifies key questions, and gives arguments from both sides of the issue. (EH)

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Current Issues

CLOSE UP
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Critical issues confronting
the nation and the world

1996 Edition

Close Up Foundation

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Preface

This book is about policy issues—matters being discussed and debated by U.S. policymakers. Today Americans receive an unprecedented amount of information about national and international issues. Much of this information is intended to convince people to believe a certain way. *Current Issues*—now in its nineteenth edition—takes a different approach. In twenty chapters—ten about domestic policy issues and ten about foreign policy issues—this book informs readers about important concerns of today and leaves judgments up to the individual. Each chapter provides basic background information, identifies key questions, and gives arguments from both sides of the issue.

The issues were chosen because they are part of public policy debate in the United States—these are among the many issues under discussion in communities, in state capitals, and particularly in Washington, D.C. The federal government cannot influence every event or situation that becomes news, but it can and does affect much of what goes on in the United States and the world. These are the areas discussed in *Current Issues*.

Nothing is more important to the democratic system in the United States than the informed participation of its citizens in the political process. *Current Issues* is designed to support greater civic participation by ensuring that when it comes time for its readers to vote in an election, state an opinion, or take a stand on an issue in a conversation, they will do so from an informed perspective.

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The Federal Government

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Introduction

Every day, government officials make decisions about important issues. Policymakers devise plans for addressing the nation's needs and for conducting relations with other countries. The process for dealing with domestic and foreign issues is called public policy. Developing public policy is the government's way of meeting national goals, such as defending the country, protecting the environment, and improving access to health care. In the United States, the three branches of federal government—executive, legislative, and judicial—play different, but interrelated, roles in making public policy.

The executive branch, which includes the president, cabinet departments, and federal agencies, has the constitutional duty to execute the laws of the United States. But the executive branch also initiates policies, often represented most clearly by the budget the president sends to Congress. After Congress has approved and funded the president's proposals, the administration (another name for the executive branch) carries them out.

The legislative branch—Congress—also makes public policy. The Constitution gives senators and representatives the power to form defense, trade, and other policies, as well as the power to raise and allocate funds to implement such policies. Congressional committees monitor the executive branch to make sure that the president, cabinet departments, and federal agencies are carrying out policies as Congress intended.

The judicial branch, which is made up of the Supreme Court and lower federal courts, settles disputes involving citizens and federal, state, and local governments. Federal courts interpret the U.S. Constitution as well as the nation's laws and treaties. The Supreme Court can change public policy decisions by ruling that certain laws or practices are unconstitutional. Decisions of the Supreme Court usually stand as the law of the land unless the Court later overturns a previous decision or Americans amend the Constitution and thereby nullify the Court's decision.

One of the government's most important statements about public policy is the federal budget. The budget is a detailed estimate of the expenditures and revenues that the government plans for a given year. The president and Congress share responsibility for making the budget. The president sends to Capitol Hill a budget reflecting the administration's priorities. The senators and representatives then make changes as they see fit and pass the budget. Congress reviews the programs in the budget and raises and allocates the money for programs that are approved. Thus, the executive and legislative branches set the public policy priorities of the nation by spending large sums of the taxpayers' money on programs thought to be most important and smaller amounts on programs considered less important.

The federal government's priorities constantly change to reflect the needs of the country and the wishes of the electorate. Americans recently elected a majority of Republicans to Congress who will attempt to work with a Democratic president, Bill Clinton. It remains to be seen what long-term changes these new lawmakers in Washington will make.

The Clinton Administration

President

The White House

Bill Clinton, age 49, is the forty-second president of the United States. Prior to his election, he was governor of Arkansas from 1979 to 1981 and from 1983 to 1993. He was also the Arkansas attorney general from 1976 to 1978 and a law professor at the University of Arkansas from 1974 to 1976. In the first two years of his administration, President Clinton addressed such issues as health care reform, free trade, crime, and the federal budget deficit.

Vice President

The White House

Albert Gore Jr., age 47, was a U.S. representative from Tennessee for eight years beginning in 1976; from 1984 to 1992, he served in the U.S. Senate. As vice president, he is an important adviser to the president, focusing much of his attention on the environment, the economy, and ways to improve efficiency in the national bureaucracy. In 1994, Gore represented the United States at the UN's International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, Egypt.

Cabinet

Secretary of Agriculture

U.S. Department of Agriculture

Dan Glickman, age 50, became secretary of agriculture in April 1995, replacing Mike Espy. Before being named to the Clinton Cabinet, Glickman served nine terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. While representing his district in Kansas, he was an influential member of the House Agriculture and Intelligence Committees. In 1995, Glickman will have to manage a Department of Agriculture that is facing large cuts in funding.

Secretary of Commerce

U.S. Department of Commerce

Ronald H. Brown, age 53, was the chairman of the Democratic National Committee between 1989 and 1993. He previously worked as a lobbyist for American and Japanese corporations as well as for foreign countries, and was a partner in a Washington, D.C., law firm. As secretary of commerce, Brown is the chief spokesperson on U.S. trade policy. He has worked hard to open business opportunities for U.S. companies in Asia.

Secretary of Defense

U.S. Department of Defense

William J. Perry, age 67, a former deputy defense secretary, became secretary of defense in early 1994. Perry, who also served in the Defense Department during the Carter administration, is an expert in military technology. A U.S. Army veteran, the secretary also taught engineering at Stanford University. Secretary Perry must deal with issues such as the shrinking defense budget and the combat readiness of the military.

Secretary of Education

U.S. Department of Education

Richard W. Riley, age 62, was the governor of South Carolina from 1979 to 1987. In 1984, Riley sponsored education legislation to improve his state's schools by adding a one-cent sales tax. The secretary must address such issues as loans for college students, allowing parents to choose their children's schools, and carrying out President Clinton's plan for education, Goals 2000: Educate America.

Secretary of Energy

U.S. Department of Energy

Hazel R. O'Leary, a 57-year-old lawyer, is a former executive vice president of an electric utility in Minneapolis. O'Leary was an energy official in both the Ford and Carter administrations and operated her own energy consulting firm. In 1995, Secretary O'Leary led a delegation of U.S. energy executives to China to try to persuade Chinese officials to buy U.S.-made electric power systems.

Secretary of Health and Human Services

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Donna E. Shalala, age 53, was chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Madison from 1988 to 1993. She was also assistant secretary for housing and urban development from 1977 to 1980 and chair of the Children's Defense Fund in 1992. Secretary Shalala has spoken out on such issues as welfare reform and finding ways to provide health care to uninsured Americans.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Henry G. Cisneros, age 47, is a former four-term mayor of San Antonio, Texas. He was a San Antonio city councilman from 1975 to 1981 and president of the National League of Cities in 1986. Cisneros is committed to urban renewal and establishing enterprise zones in parts of cities that need businesses. In 1995, the secretary will have to deal with the challenge of running an effective Department of Housing and Urban Development with reduced funding from Congress.

Secretary of the Interior

U.S. Department of the Interior

Bruce Babbitt, age 56, was governor of Arizona for nine years and a Democratic presidential candidate in 1988. As secretary of the interior, he oversees 500 million acres of parks, rangeland, wildlife refuges, forests, and recreation areas. Babbitt supports a "dominant public use" policy for the nation's public lands, which gives priority to recreation, wildlife, and watershed uses. Babbitt has also supported a plan to increase grazing fees for western ranchers who use federal land.

Attorney General

Reuters/Bettmann

Janet Reno, age 56, was the state attorney for Dade County, Florida, from 1978 to 1993. As chief prosecutor in Dade County, she won praise for reforming the juvenile justice system and establishing a special court for drug offenders. Reno strongly supports the rights and welfare of children. In 1995, the attorney general led the investigation into the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

Secretary of Labor

U.S. Department of Labor

Robert B. Reich, age 48, was a lecturer on public policy at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University from 1981 to 1993. Reich, author and coauthor of four books, wants the Department of Labor to help strengthen the economy by encouraging companies to spend more on job training. The secretary played a major role in helping President Clinton put together his plan for giving tax relief to the middle class and raising the minimum wage.

Secretary of State

U.S. Department of State

Warren Christopher, age 69, was deputy secretary of state in the Carter administration and deputy attorney general in the Johnson administration. Working for peace in the Middle East, the secretary played an intermediary role in peace talks between Syrian President Hafez Assad and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Christopher has taken a key role in setting U.S. foreign policy in Haiti, Bosnia, and Rwanda.

Secretary of Transportation

U.S. Department of Transportation

Federico F. Peña, age 47, was a Colorado state legislator for four years and a two-term mayor of Denver. In both positions he was involved with transportation and planning decisions in a largely rural state, including construction of a $2.7 billion airport in Denver. As secretary of transportation, Peña wants to continue to improve the nation's highway and mass-transportation systems.

Secretary of the Treasury

AP/Wide World Photos

Robert E. Rubin, age 56, was named to head the Treasury Department in January 1995, replacing the retiring Lloyd Bentsen. Before becoming secretary, Rubin was the chairman of the National Economic Council. He worked for an investment company for twenty-six years before joining the Clinton administration. As secretary of the treasury, Rubin will advise the president on ways to deal with the budget deficit and keep the economy growing.

Secretary of Veterans Affairs

U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs

Jesse Brown, age 50, suffered a serious injury while serving as a marine in Vietnam. He worked for the Disabled American Veterans from 1967 to 1992 and was its executive director for five years. The Department of Veterans Affairs administers health care services and benefit programs for veterans and their families. Brown is particularly interested in devising programs to help homeless and drug-dependent veterans.

Key Presidential Advisers

Ambassador to the United Nations

AP/Wide World Photos

Madeleine K. Albright, age 57, was a professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and served as a National Security Council aide in the Carter administration. As UN ambassador, Albright believes that the United States should consider wider roles for Germany and Japan in the United Nations. She also favors making U.S. troops a part of a permanent UN peacekeeping force that can be sent to trouble spots around the world.

White House Chief of Staff

AP/Wide World Photos

Leon E. Panetta, age 56, was a U.S. representative from California from 1977 to 1993. While chairman of the House Budget Committee, Panetta was considered the leading budget expert in Congress. Before being named by President Clinton as chief of staff, Panetta served as director of the Office of Management and Budget. The chief of staff looks after the daily activities of the president and the White House.

Director of Central Intelligence

Central Intelligence Agency

John M. Deutch, age 56, was chosen in March 1995 by President Clinton to head the Central Intelligence Agency. Before becoming director, Deutch was deputy secretary of defense. He has also served as provost of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and in the Department of Energy during the Carter administration. Deutch, born in Belgium but now a U.S. citizen, is considered an expert in intelligence and nuclear weapons issues.

Chair of the National Economic Council

AP/Wide World Photos

Laura D'Andrea Tyson, age 47, was named by President Clinton in February 1995 to chair the National Economic Council, replacing Robert Rubin, who became secretary of the treasury. Tyson had previously been chair of the Council of Economic Advisers and one of Clinton's top economic experts. A former economics professor, Tyson has supported the administration's effort to establish free trade.

Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

Environmental Protection Agency

Carol M. Browner, age 39, served as secretary of the Florida Department of Environmental Regulation from 1991 to 1993. In her first year as administrator of the EPA, she helped negotiate a plan to save wetlands by restricting development in these areas. Browner faces challenges from members of Congress who advocate decreasing the scope of all federal regulatory agencies, including the EPA.

Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

U.S. Department of Justice

Louis Freeh, 45, is only the fifth person to head the FBI in its 69-year history. Freeh, a former FBI agent, gave up a lifetime appointment to the U.S. District Court in New York to accept the ten-year term at the FBI. As director, Freeh vows to "control and reverse the [vast scope] of crime" in the country.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

U.S. Department of Defense

General John Shalikashvili, age 59, serves as President Clinton's senior military adviser. Before his appointment, Shalikashvili worked at the Pentagon in midlevel army jobs, held leadership posts in Europe, and served as special assistant to former Joint Chiefs leader General Colin Powell. As chairman, the general must protect the interests of the military in the face of smaller defense budgets.

Director of the Office of Management and Budget

AP/Wide World Photos

Alice M. Rivlin, age 65, was named director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in June 1994. She served as deputy director of the OMB before her promotion. An economist, Rivlin also directed the Congressional Budget Office from 1975 to 1983. Rivlin, known as an advocate of deficit reduction, has the job of developing the administration's annual budget.

National Security Adviser

AP/Wide World Photos

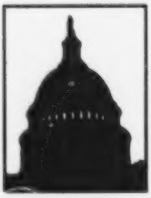
Anthony Lake, age 55, was a foreign service officer in the State Department from 1962 to 1970. From 1977 to 1981, Lake was the director of policy planning for President Carter's State Department. After that, he taught international relations at Mount Holyoke College. Prior to his appointment as national security adviser, Lake was a senior foreign policy adviser to the Clinton/Gore campaign.

U.S. Trade Representative

AP/Wide World Photos

Mickey Kantor, age 55, was a partner in a Los Angeles law firm, chairman of the Clinton/Gore campaign, and a member of the president's transition board. As U.S. trade representative, Kantor helped successfully negotiate the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and supplemental agreements to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

The 104th Congress



Republicans ended four decades of Democratic control of at least one house of Congress when members of the 104th Congress were sworn into office in January 1995. The 1994 congressional elections brought historic changes to Washington. Republicans won the majority of seats in both the House and Senate, giving the party control of both houses for the first time since 1954. The Senate now has 54 Republicans and 46 Democrats. The House has 231 Republicans, 203 Democrats, and 1 independent. The new speaker of the House is Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

In 1995, Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia became the first Republican speaker of the House since Joseph Martin of Massachusetts held the post from 1953 to 1955. Here, Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri (left) hands the speaker's gavel over to Gingrich on the first day of the House session in 1995.

The November 1994 election produced a divided government—a Democratic president, Bill Clinton, and a Republican-controlled House and Senate. A divided government often leads to conflict between the two branches over what policies are best for the nation.

During President Clinton's first year in office, he and the Democrats who controlled the 103rd Congress worked together to pass the president's proposals. For instance, President Clinton's plan to reduce the budget deficit was approved, despite not getting one Republican vote in either the House or Senate.

However, in 1994, President Clinton did not have as much success working with his own party as he had in 1993. Congress did not pass many of the president's proposals, including health care reform, welfare reform, and a campaign finance reform bill. Senators and representatives did approve a crime bill and the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

(GATT), two pieces of legislation favored by the president.

With President Clinton now facing a Republican-controlled Congress, most political experts believe that he will have an even more difficult time getting his agenda through Congress. Many observers expect the Republicans, and not the president, to control the legislative agenda. Republicans want Congress to approve a balanced budget amendment, tax cuts, a new crime bill, and welfare reform. President Clinton predicted that he would be able to work with the new Congress on some issues but would challenge them on others.

U.S. House of Representatives

A joint session of Congress meets to hear President Bill Clinton's State of the Union Address in January 1995. In the State of the Union Address, the president tells the Congress and the American people what the administration's economic, social, and foreign policies will be in the upcoming year.

Congress and presidents also have a history of clashing over foreign policy issues. The Constitution gives both branches a role in foreign policy, but presidents have generally taken the lead in this area. Foreign policy issues are frequently difficult for a new administration, as was the case during President Clinton's first year. In heated debates, the House and Senate questioned the president's policies on Haiti, Somalia, Bosnia, and North Korea. For example, when U.S. troops were sent to Haiti to oversee President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return to power, the Senate debated whether to place a time limit on how long U.S. troops could stay. In the end, the Senate voted not to set a time limit because senators were worried that such a limit would weaken President Clinton in the eyes of the world. The Republican-controlled 104th Congress will likely keep a close watch on President Clinton's foreign policy decisions.

Who's Who in Congress?

Each two-year term of Congress may bring changes in the leadership of both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Competition for committee assignments and leadership positions is intense. Both parties want to place their members on powerful committees so that they have better control over the legislative process. Members of the majority party in each house select the committee chairs for their chamber. The 104th Congress convened in January 1995. See if you can fill in the senator's or representative's name, state, and party affiliation for each position listed (example: Robert Dole, Kansas-R).

Senate

President *Pro Tempore*

Majority Leader

Majority Whip

Minority Leader

Minority Whip

Committee Chairs

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

Appropriations

Armed Services

Budget

Energy and Natural Resources

Environment and Public Works

Finance

Judiciary

Rules and Administration

Select Intelligence

Terms of Congress

Each term of Congress lasts for two years and is numbered consecutively from the first term, which began on March 4, 1789. Congress holds two regular sessions each term—one each year. A typical session lasts about five months, but pressing issues may require Congress to remain in session through most of the year. The 104th Congress convened at 12:00 noon on January 4, 1995.

House of Representatives

Speaker of the House

Majority Leader

Majority Whip

Minority Leader (Democratic Leader)

Minority Whip

Committee Chairs

Agriculture

Appropriations

Budget

Commerce

Economic and Educational Opportunities

International Relations

Judiciary

National Security

Rules

Select Intelligence

Committee Chairs

The senators and representatives who chair committees exercise significant power over their respective committees. Therefore, each party strives to place experienced members in these influential positions. Committee chairs have power because they establish the agenda for what will be discussed. The chairs also control the committee budgets, call meetings, schedule hearings, and serve as spokespersons for their committee and party.

The Supreme Court

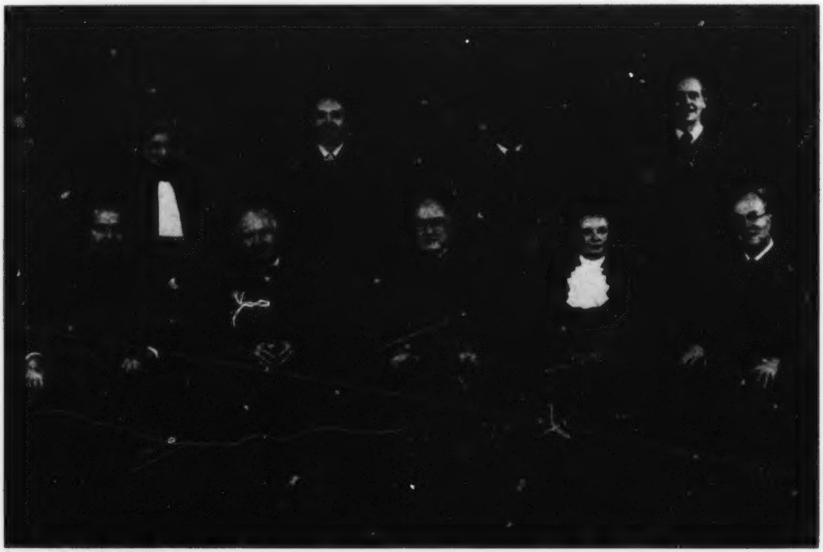
The framers of the Constitution wanted to create a strong central government. At the same time, they feared that individuals or groups might acquire too much power. Accordingly, the delegates divided the powers of government among three separate branches. The legislative branch makes laws, the executive branch enforces those laws, and the judicial branch—with the Supreme Court as its ultimate authority—interprets laws and the Constitution.

Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with the "advice and consent" of the Senate. These justices serve on the Court for life, unless they resign or are removed through impeachment. The nine justices of the Supreme Court primarily serve as an appellate court; they review a limited number of appeals arising from the decisions made by the lower federal courts. In 1994, more than 7,000 cases were on the docket for review, but only 84 were actually taken up by the nation's highest court. Cases that are approved for review usually present unusual or significant legal issues. The Court also hears cases that involve a federal interpretation of the Constitution, laws, or treaties.

Decisions of the Supreme Court have often played a major role in shaping U.S. political and social life. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, made sweeping changes in individual rights. The Warren Court struck down racial segregation and government-sponsored prayer in public schools and upheld the principle of "one person, one vote."

Court Size Has Varied

The number of Supreme Court justices is not fixed by the Constitution, and Court membership has varied from a low of five judges (1801-07) to a high of ten (1863-67). Its size was set at nine in 1869 and remains at that number today. In 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt, upset that the Court had ruled several of his New Deal programs unconstitutional, asked Congress to permit him to appoint additional Supreme Court members, but Congress refused to pass such legislation.



Supreme Court Historical Society

Supreme Court Justices, from left to right: Antonin Scalia, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, John Paul Stevens, David H. Souter, William H. Rehnquist, Clarence Thomas, Sandra Day O'Connor, Stephen G. Breyer, and Anthony M. Kennedy.

When Warren Burger became chief justice in 1969, the Supreme Court extended some decisions of the Warren Court. For instance, the Burger Court approved busing to achieve racial integration of public schools, upheld affirmative action, and ruled that women have the right to an abortion. However, under Chief Justice Burger, the Supreme Court limited some of the decisions made under Earl Warren. The Warren Court had established strict procedures for police to follow to ensure that the rights of individuals suspected of crimes were not violated. However, the Burger Court ruled that law enforcement authorities may commit minor, unintentional violations of some constitutional rights to prevent criminals from going free.

The Supreme Court underwent major changes during the Reagan and Bush administrations. During his eight years in office, President Ronald Reagan named three new associate justices and a chief justice to the Court. In 1981, President Reagan appointed Sandra Day O'Connor—the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court—as an associate justice. In 1986, Reagan named Associate Justice William Rehnquist to replace retiring Chief Justice Warren Burger and chose Antonin Scalia as an associate justice. Reagan appointed Anthony Kennedy to the Court in 1987.

President George Bush also exerted a strong influence on the composition of the Supreme Court. In 1990, Bush appointed David Souter as an associate justice. The following year, he named the Court's second black justice, Clarence Thomas, to replace retiring justice Thurgood Marshall.

Shortly after taking office in 1993, President Bill Clinton named Ruth Bader Ginsburg, a former American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) lawyer and judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals, to replace retiring justice Byron White. Justice Ginsburg is the Court's second woman justice and first Jewish justice since 1969. In 1994, Clinton selected federal appeals court judge Stephen G. Breyer to fill the seat of retiring justice Harry Blackmun.

Supreme Court appointments are often controversial because of the power the Court wields. Liberals and conservatives generally have conflicting ideas about the philosophies they think a Supreme Court justice should hold. Conservatives, in general, prefer justices who favor strict interpretations of the Constitution, which they believe the framers intended. In contrast, liberals want justices who will allow for broader interpretations of the Constitution to suit changing circumstances, as they think the framers had planned.

Most observers expected the Rehnquist Court to reflect the conservative philosophies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, and in many cases it has. However, several Reagan and Bush appointees have surprised Court watchers by deviating at times from the conservative views of the presidents who appointed them. For example, Justices O'Connor,

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The Supreme Court building, styled after a classic Grecian temple, was completed in 1935 at a cost of $3 million dollars. Before its completion, the Court had no home. Since 1801, when the Court was organized, the justices had met in various rooms of the Capitol and had little space.

The Supreme Court

Justice	Age	Appointed By	Year Appointed
William H. Rehnquist*	71	Nixon	1971
John Paul Stevens	75	Ford	1975
Sandra Day O'Connor	65	Reagan	1981
Antonin Scalia	59	Reagan	1986
Anthony M. Kennedy	59	Reagan	1987
David H. Souter	56	Bush	1990
Clarence Thomas	47	Bush	1991
Ruth Bader Ginsburg	62	Clinton	1993
Stephen G. Breyer	57	Clinton	1994

*Appointed chief justice by Reagan in 1986

Kennedy, and Souter surprised no one by supporting the placement of some restrictions on abortions—a cause generally favored by conservatives. Yet these same justices voted to prohibit prayer at school ceremonies—a decision applauded by most liberals.

Many legal experts believe that the Supreme Court, which has philosophically moved toward the right under the influence of the six Reagan and Bush appointees, will now swing back toward the middle on issues such as abortion and civil rights. Most experts believe that if Democratic President Bill Clinton is given the opportunity to appoint at least one more justice before the end of his term, it could alter the philosophical foundation of the Court for many years to come.

The Federal Budget

Each year the president and Congress prepare a budget for the federal government. They must decide how much money the government will spend on defense, health care, foreign aid, and hundreds of other federal programs. In addition, lawmakers must determine how much tax revenue the government can expect to receive and how much money it will need to borrow.

Executive Branch Budget Process. In the executive branch, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is responsible for drawing up the president's budget for the upcoming fiscal year, which always begins on October 1 and ends on September 30. The president relies on the OMB director to produce a budget reflecting the priorities of the administration.

The OMB develops a budget by first analyzing the proposed annual spending plan of each federal agency. Every year the president's budget office asks government agencies to estimate the cost of running their programs for the next five fiscal years. The OMB then adjusts agency budgets to conform with administration policy and budgeting goals. Finally, the president submits the administration's budget to Congress no later than the first Monday in February.

Congressional Budget Process. The legislative branch has a crucial role in the budget process. No federal agency or program can operate without receiving both approval and funding from Congress. Congress grants approval by passing an

The Budget Process for Fiscal Year 1997

Spring 1995	The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) assigns government agencies a maximum amount for their budget proposals.
Summer 1995	Agencies submit their proposed budgets to the OMB. Agency directors meet with OMB executives and the president's staff to justify proposed spending and to finalize the budget.
February 1996	The president submits the administration's budget proposal to Congress no later than the first Monday in February.
February 15, 1996	Congressional committees submit federal agency and program estimates to budget committees.
April 15, 1996	Budget committees report the first budget resolution. The resolution sets targets for government spending by Congress.
May 15, 1996	Committees report authorization bills; Congress completes action on first budget resolution. Until the first budget resolution is adopted, neither house may consider authorization or spending bills or changes in tax revenues or the national debt.
May-August 1996	Congress completes action on all budget and spending bills.
September 15, 1996	Congress completes action on a reconciliation bill to bring the budget in line with spending bills. Congress may not adjourn until it finishes these measures.
October 1, 1996	Fiscal year 1997 begins.

authorization bill, which states the goals of a program, the rules and regulations that Congress believes are necessary, and the amount that the appropriate agency can spend on that program. Then, Congress must approve a separate appropriation bill, which actually gives the agency the money to run its programs.

Congress is also responsible for raising money for the federal government. The lawmakers raise money by maintaining or increasing existing taxes, creating new taxes, and authorizing the Treasury Department to borrow money to make up any difference between money collected and money spent.

For many years, subcommittees of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees considered the budget requests of each federal agency separately and appropriated money accordingly. But until all these separate appropriations were added up, members of Congress were never sure of what the "bottom line" for the entire budget would be. Critics said Congress should determine the budget total before it started appropriating the money. Thus, in 1974, a law was passed requiring the House and Senate to approve a joint budget resolution by April of each year. The resolution sets guidelines for how much the government can spend and predicts how much revenue it will take in. Later in the year, the legislators pass a second budget resolution, which reflects any recent changes in the economy and in expected revenue. If appropriation bills already passed by Congress exceed the new limits, Congress draws up a reconciliation bill to bring spending within the limits set by the second budget resolution.

The Budget Deficit. One of the biggest challenges facing the president and Congress is the federal budget deficit—the amount of money spent in excess of the money taken in within a fiscal year. The government must borrow the difference to pay for its programs. Budget deficits have existed most years since 1930; the last budget surplus occurred in 1969. In fiscal year (FY) 1992, the deficit was the largest in history, $290.4 billion. Since then, however, the deficit has been falling. For example, the budget deficit was $203 billion in FY94;

this figure is projected to fall to $193 billion in FY95—the smallest in five years. Under present spending and taxing rates, the administration predicts annual budget deficits to remain near the 1995 level for the rest of the decade.

Despite budget cuts in some programs, overall government spending has actually continued to increase. This trend can be attributed largely to increasing interest payments on the national debt, automatic cost-of-living increases for Social Security, and rising costs for Medicare and Medicaid.

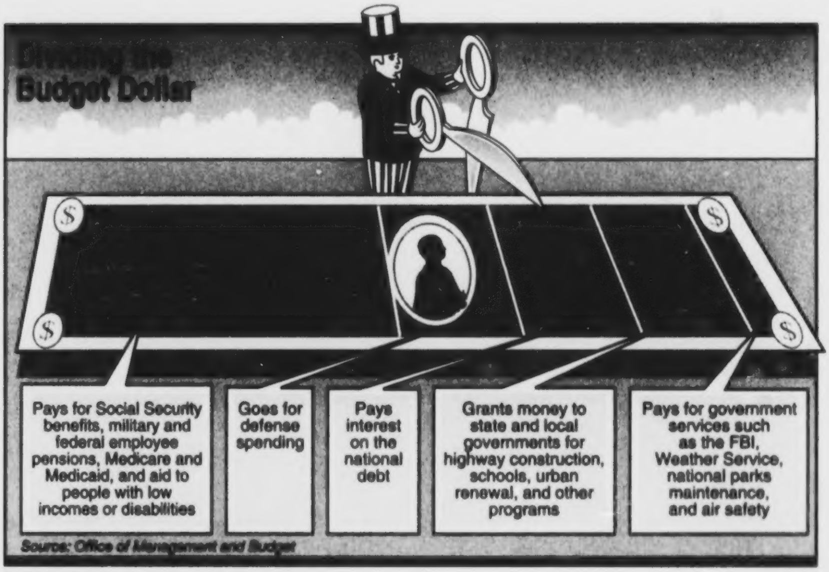
Balancing the Budget. The options available to the president and Congress for reducing the budget deficit are limited. The government needs to support its many programs and services and pay its bills. Of the $1.6 trillion being spent in fiscal year 1996, 48 cents of every budget dollar go for direct payments to individuals in the form of Social Security benefits, Medicare, military pensions, and welfare.

The next 16 cents go for the nation's defense. The percentage of the entire federal budget spent on defense has decreased significantly over the past few years.

Another 16 cents of every budget dollar pay the interest on the national debt—which now totals nearly $4.8 trillion. Interest payments will not decrease until the government reduces the annual deficit.

State and local governments take 15 cents for such programs as highway construction, schools, and urban renewal projects. Spending in this category has remained fairly constant in recent years.

Government services such as the National Weather Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation take 5 cents of the budget dollar. Many of these programs have already had their budgets cut, and budget experts agree that cut-


Dividing the Budget Dollar
$
$
$
$
Pays for Social Security benefits, military and federal employee pensions, Medicare and Medicaid, and aid to people with low incomes or disabilities
Goes for defense spending
Pays interest on the national debt
Grants money to state and local governments for highway construction, schools, urban renewal, and other programs
Pays for government services such as the FBI, Weather Service, national parks maintenance, and air safety

Source: Office of Management and Budget

ting them more would limit the government's ability to adequately provide such services without having much effect on the deficit.

Raising Taxes. One option available to reduce the budget deficit is to raise taxes, but presidents and many members of Congress have been reluctant to do so. Following increases in energy, income, and business taxes for fiscal years 1994 and 1995, the president, in his 1996 budget, proposed tax credits to some middle-class families.

Reducing Spending. A second option to reduce the deficit is to reduce government spending. Over the last decade, Congress has considered a number of spending reduction plans. In 1992 and again in March 1995, the legislative branch rejected a proposed constitutional amendment requiring the federal budget to be balanced. An earlier congressional effort—the 1987 Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act (the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act)—was supposed to reduce federal

The Federal Budget

In February 1995, President Clinton submitted a budget for fiscal year 1996 for $1.61 trillion. The budget also estimates spending for fiscal year 1997.

(outlays in billions of dollars)

	FY95	FY96	FY97
National Defense	$ 271.6	$ 261.4	$ 257.0
International Affairs	**18.7**	**16.7**	**16.2**
General Science, Space, and Technology	17.0	16.9	16.4
Energy	**4.6**	**4.4**	**4.0**
Natural Resources and Environment	21.9	21.8	22.2
Agriculture	**14.4**	**13.6**	**12.7**
Commerce and Housing Credit	-12.0	-7.6	-0.9
Transportation	**39.2**	**38.6**	**38.4**
Community and Regional Development	12.6	12.8	12.7
Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services	**56.1**	**57.2**	**58.4**
Health	115.1	124.0	132.1
Medicare	**157.3**	**177.8**	**194.4**
Income Security	223.0	233.2	246.2
Social Security	**336.1**	**354.5**	**373.1**
Veterans Benefits and Services	38.4	38.1	39.7
Administration of Justice	**17.6**	**19.7**	**21.3**
General Government (Congress, Treasury Department, and Government Services Administration)	14.5	14.6	14.3
Net Interest	**234.2**	**257.0**	**270.4**
Allowances	0.0	-0.2	-0.5
Undistributed Offsetting Receipts (civilian retirement contributions and income earned from leasing or sale of government assets)	**-41.4**	**-42.4**	**-43.3**
Totals*			
Budget Outlays*	$1,538.9	$1,612.1	$1,684.7
Revenues	$1,346.4	$1,415.5	$1,471.6
Deficit	$ -192.5	$ -196.7	$ -213.1
Gross Federal Debt	$4,961.5	$5,299.6	$5,656.3

*Note: Discrepancies may occur due to rounding of budget figures.

Source Office of Management and Budget deficits to zero by 1993. However, that law did not succeed in reducing or eliminating federal budget deficits.

In the fall of 1990, President George Bush and Congress agreed to a new five-year plan that was designed to balance the budget by the mid-1990s. However, by January 1993, it was becoming clear that this plan was not achieving its goals and, in fact, the deficit was getting larger. President Clinton and Congress agreed that spending cuts had to be made to reverse this trend. Both Democrats and Republicans have since developed plans to cut federal spending, or at least, slow annual increases in spending.

The 1996 Clinton Budget. In February 1995, President Clinton presented Congress with his $1.61 trillion budget for fiscal year 1996. The president said his budget "cuts spending, cuts taxes, cuts the deficit, and does not cut education, or Social Security, or Medicare." Rather than emphasizing deficit reduction as his first two budgets did, Clinton's 1996 budget follows a strategy the administration calls "deficit control." His critics say his 1996 plan does not cut the deficit enough. Members of both parties think that until the president and Congress address expensive, but popular, programs like Medicare and Social Security, the deficit will be difficult to erase. The president's 1996 budget includes:

- *Middle-class tax cuts.* President Clinton's budget includes a plan to give a $63 billion tax cut over five years to middle-class taxpayers. The tax proposals include $500 tax credits for families with children under age 13 and higher deductions for people who are paying for education and job training.

- *Program cuts.* The president's budget reflects his desire to save money by "reinventing" government agencies. President Clinton has proposed realigning or downsizing the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Energy, and Transportation. He also wants to terminate the Interstate Commerce Commission and more than 130 other minor programs. Other cuts will be made in defense, agriculture, and foreign aid.
- *Increases in funding.* President Clinton's 1996 budget gives an additional billion dollars to the Justice Department to deal with illegal immigration. The president also asked for more money for education, particularly to fund Goals 2000, Head Start, and the student loan program. As in previous budgets, the largest increases will occur in entitlement programs such as Medicare and Medicaid, Social Security, and welfare programs.

Members of the Republican-controlled 104th Congress criticized President Clinton because his new budget does not reduce the budget deficit from its current $200 billion level. Nearly all Republicans in Congress and many Democrats displayed their desire to slash budget deficits by voting for a balanced budget amendment in March 1995. The amendment failed to pass by one vote in the Senate after passing the House. However, in May 1995, the House and Senate each appproved fiscal plans that they believe will lend to a balanced budget by 2002. Most observers think that debate on reducing the budget deficit will dominate much of the business of the 104th Congress and that Congress will make many changes to President Clinton's FY96 budget before it becomes law.

Domestic Policy Issues

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Introduction

The decisions of the federal government affect the daily lives of every person living in the United States. The government inspects food products, guarantees workers a minimum wage, and helps families buy homes. Each year lawmakers face difficult decisions about the level of government involvement in the lives of the people they represent. Of course, the Constitution sets certain limits. The First Amendment, for example, protects people from government interference by guaranteeing freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. However, Americans disagree about how broad these protections are and how many limits the government should place on people's rights. Policymakers seek to balance the level of government involvement with the needs of the citizens.

For the first 150 years of the republic, the federal government was relatively uninvolved in the day-to-day activities of the people. Decisions about everyday life were left to state and local governments and to the people directly. But the Great Depression of the 1930s radically changed the role of the federal government. Hunger and poverty were widespread; overwhelmed state and local governments were unable to take care of people who needed help. President Franklin Roosevelt and many members of Congress decided that the federal government needed to take more responsibility for the nation's "general welfare." Thus, federal lawmakers began programs to help needy Americans. Eventually, the government in Washington took over many responsibilities formerly assumed by state and local governments.

Further changes occurred during the 1960s as federal officials responded to problems in American society. President Lyndon Johnson launched a national effort to eliminate poverty and discrimination. Federal programs were established to provide needy citizens with education, jobs, medical care, food, and housing. At Johnson's urging, Congress passed civil rights laws prohibiting discrimination in education, housing, public accommodations, and voting. In the 1970s, the government became involved in energy and environmental issues.

Since the Great Depression, a large number of Americans have come to believe that only the federal government can resolve major national issues. They think that only the president, Congress, and the Supreme Court can ensure that factories do not pollute the air, that employers will hire minorities, and that all citizens will receive fair and equal treatment in education, housing, and employment. Many people see government regulation of certain aspects of American life as a necessity.

But since the role of government began expanding in the 1930s, many Americans have contended that the federal government has become bureaucratic, inefficient, and too involved in the lives of citizens. Those people believe that the federal government uses its power to make decisions that should be made by states, communities, and individuals.

Should the federal government limit the length of time a family can receive welfare benefits? What role should the federal government have in the nation's health care system? Should restrictions on immigration be tightened? These and other domestic policy questions pose constant challenges. It is up to the president and members of Congress to determine which decisions are best made by the government in Washington, D.C., and which decisions are best left to states, businesses, and individuals.

The Economy

The U.S. economy continued to strengthen in 1994, paced by increased consumer spending and home sales and the brightest employment picture in more than a decade. Housing starts and domestic auto sales showed improvement, and some manufacturing jobs that had been cut in 1993 were regained in 1994. Unemployment, an important economic indicator, fell to 5.4 percent by the end of 1994. However, in early 1995, the economy began to cool off as consumers began to feel the pinch of higher interest rates—borrowing money became more expensive. The Federal Reserve Board increased interest rates to choke off inflation, which sometimes accompanies a robust economy.

Many Americans, however, have not felt the effects of the stronger economy. Polls show that the public is generally still pessimistic about what the future holds. Some economists say that although the economy is growing, consumers are still cautious, wage increases are minimal, and the creation of permanent, high-paying jobs is still slow.

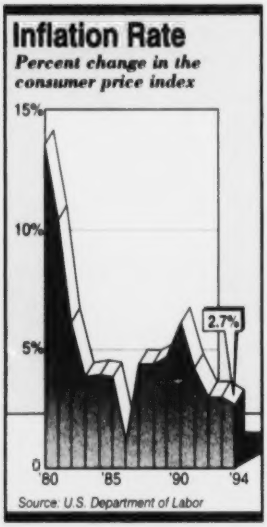
Lawmakers in Washington continue to debate what the proper role of the federal government should be in the nation's economy. While Democrats favor a more activist government approach, Republicans believe the government's role should be small. In 1995, the Republican-majority Congress called for a balanced budget amendment and lower taxes—two initiatives that, by reducing the government's influence, could have a dramatic effect on the American economy.

Key Questions

- Should Congress pass a balanced budget amendment?
- Should the government lower taxes to spur economic growth?
- Should the minimum wage be increased?

Background

Factors in Economic Policy



Source: U.S. Department of Labor

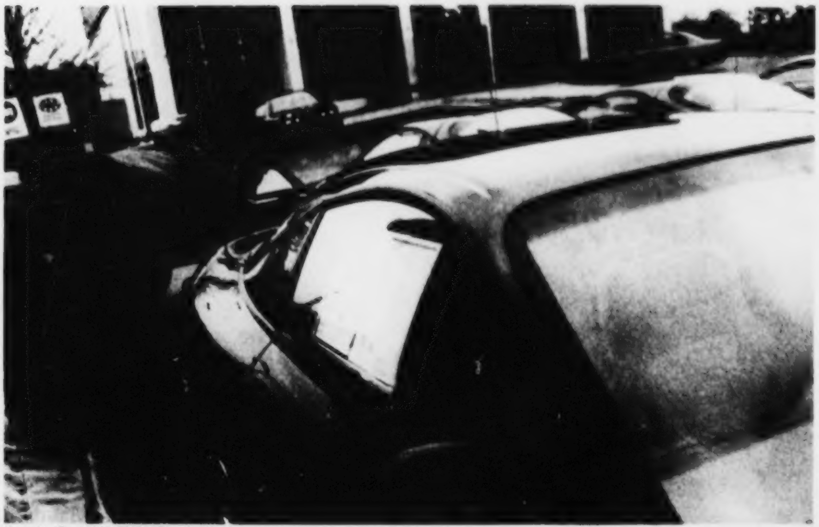
The rate of inflation measures how fast the prices for goods and services increase. Unless it is accompanied by a comparable rise in wages, inflation lowers the standard of living. In 1994, the average inflation rate was 2.7 percent.

Inflation. Simply stated, inflation is a continuing rise in prices for goods and services. The higher the rate of inflation, the faster prices go up. The inflation rate declined from 13.5 percent in 1980 to 1.1 percent in 1986 before rising again to 6.1 percent in 1990. However, throughout 1994 the rate remained steady at 2.7 percent—the fourth straight year of low inflation. Economists say lower inflation was the only positive result of the recession of the early 1990s. Some economists believe that a 2 to 3 percent annual rate of inflation is not only acceptable but actually spurs economic growth.

One danger of inflation is that unless accompanied by a comparable increase in wages, it lowers the standard of living. Inflation particularly hurts people living on fixed incomes such as retired Americans and those who depend on government-sponsored social programs.

A high rate of inflation also induces people to buy on credit and to forgo saving money. The economy suffers when individuals do not save money because banks have less to lend for investments in new homes, businesses, and industrial equipment.

The government can control inflation in a variety of ways. For example, the president can order wage controls, thereby reducing the amount of money that workers have available to spend. When there is less demand for goods and services, prices eventually fall back to acceptable levels. A more common way the government fights inflation is through the Federal Reserve Board (the Fed). The Fed determines the amount of money circulating in the economy. Chaired by Alan Greenspan since 1986, the Fed can reduce—or tighten—the money sup-



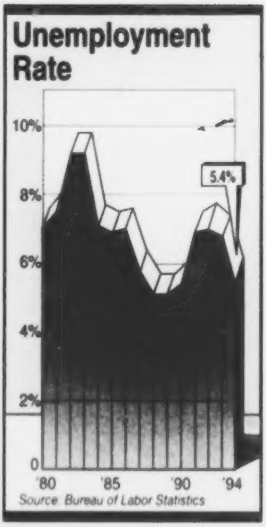
Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Many consumers attempt to save money by comparing prices of similar items.

ply by raising interest rates (the price one must pay to borrow money). When interest rates go up, consumer spending decreases and prices level off or go down.

In 1994, the Fed raised interest rates six different times to slow economic activity. The Fed was worried about the possible recurrence of high inflation, which sometimes accompanies vigorous growth in the economy. By late 1994 and early 1995, as the price of borrowing money increased, home sales began to dip and credit card loans became more expensive. Critics of higher interest rates argued that there were no visible signs that inflation was rising and that if the Fed stayed on its present course, consumer spending would continue to decline, moving the economy toward a recession. In February 1995, Greenspan reported the threat of inflation had subsided enough to delay any further interest rate increases.

Unemployment. The rate of unemployment refers to the percentage of men and women who want to



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The rate of unemployment measures the percentage of the civilian labor force that wants to work but cannot find jobs. Unemployment was 5.4 percent at the end of 1994.

work but cannot find jobs. Because there are always people between jobs, the unemployment rate is never zero. Many economists consider the economy to be at full employment when 4 percent or less of the employable population is looking for work. In early 1995, the unemployment rate stood at 5.4 percent.

Traditionally, unemployment hits some groups harder than others—minorities more than whites, females more than males, teenagers more than adults. Unemployment is also particularly hard on older men and women who lose their jobs after having spent their lives working in heavy manufacturing such as the automobile and steel industries.

Moving U.S. manufacturing plants to developing countries has a domino effect. When American companies move factories to developing countries where workers are paid lower wages, the price of the goods they produce goes down but U.S. workers lose jobs. Companies that keep their operations in the United States often must charge comparatively higher prices for their products, causing them to lose sales and forcing them to lay off workers.

Unemployment also affects the government. When people are out of work, they pay less in taxes; therefore, the government takes in less revenue. At the same time, it has to pay out more in unemployment compensation.

In times of high unemployment, the government uses different tactics to create new jobs. It can lower taxes and interest rates to encourage businesses to expand and hire more workers. Or, it can create its own jobs. For example, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration hired millions of Americans for public works projects such as planting trees, stringing power lines in rural areas, and constructing public buildings, bridges, and dams.

Recession. A recession is a period of economic slowdown. Recessions are usually marked by declines in production, spending, and consumer demand and often lead to high unemployment.

To stimulate economic growth, the Federal Reserve Board can make more money available to banks for lending by lowering the interest rate it charges banks. For example, the Fed lowered interest rates to banks when the economy entered the 1990-91 recession. Officials hoped that these low rates would encourage businesses to expand and hire more workers. In 1994, nearly 2 million jobs were added to businesses' payrolls—more than were added in the prior four years combined.

Another way the government can combat a recession is by reducing taxes. Lowering taxes puts more cash in consumers' pockets. More available cash encourages consumer spending on goods and services.

Historically, the U.S. economy has gone through cycles of recession and recovery. The most recent recession began in 1990 after one of the largest economic expansions in American history. Although the recession ended in the spring of 1991, job creation and consumer confidence—robust in past recoveries—were sluggish at best. By the end of 1993, economic growth began to pick up, a trend that continued into 1994, with the economy growing at around 4 percent. This prompted many economists to declare that the U.S. economy was strong.

Productivity. Productivity refers to the amount of goods produced per person per hour. A rising rate of productivity usually leads to higher wages, higher profits, and lower prices. Since the 1960s, productivity in some countries—particularly Japan—has increased more than it has in the United States. This increase in foreign productivity means that products made in other countries may be less expensive than comparable products made in the United States. As a result, they sell better.

U.S. manufacturers have found that they must either spend millions of dollars modernizing their factories to increase productivity or give up manufacturing in the United States altogether. Some move their factories out of the country because by doing so, they can avoid the costs of meeting government safety and antipollution regulations and the high wages they must pay American workers.

Although high productivity is generally considered good for the economy, it can change the nature of the workforce and temporarily increase unemployment. For example, as machines and computers on assembly lines take over more and more human roles, workers find themselves unemployed or working in nonmanufacturing fields like the growing service or information industries. When the United States was recovering from its recession in late 1992, the productivity and the length of the average work week of American workers increased. National output per hour of work climbed almost 3 percent—the largest gain in twenty years. These increases have allowed companies to produce more goods and services without hiring more employees.

Unemployment and Inflation Rates

Reducing unemployment is a goal of lawmakers, but ironically, if unemployment rates fall too far, inflation rises. The inflation rate goes up when more Americans are working because the demand for skilled workers enables these workers to negotiate for higher wages; therefore, people have more money to spend. When companies pay workers more and the demand for the goods goes up, they often raise the price of goods and services. These actions can trigger inflation. Despite this, many economists believe that this scenario is unlikely to occur in 1995 and 1996 because economic growth and job creation are expected to slow down.

International Interdependence. Because the United States is the world's largest exporter and importer, the U.S. economy has been called an "engine of growth" for the rest of the world. The huge market for foreign goods in the United States creates jobs overseas and keeps foreign workers employed.

Similarly, the health of the U.S. economy depends on how well American products sell in foreign markets. During the early 1990s, many Americans lost their jobs because sales of U.S. products declined overseas.

Ironically, economic conditions in the United States often help to create the conditions abroad that cause U.S. exports to decline. For example, the economies of many countries—especially developing countries—rely on the United States as a market for their exports. However, if American consumers purchase fewer imports from developing countries, the economies of these countries may suffer.

In addition, developing countries rely on American banks to lend them billions of dollars to finance their industrial development. If U.S. interest rates go up, developing countries often cannot pay the interest on those loans without making large economic sacrifices, which might include reducing imports from the United States.

The U.S. economy affects wealthy nations as well. In late 1992, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a Paris-based group of twenty-four wealthy nations including the United States, Japan, and most western European countries, reported that the U.S. federal budget deficit threatened to push up interest rates around the

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board Alan Greenspan was criticized by many members of Congress for increasing interest rates six different times in 1994. Greenspan defended the Fed's actions by arguing that the economy had to be slowed to prevent inflation from increasing.

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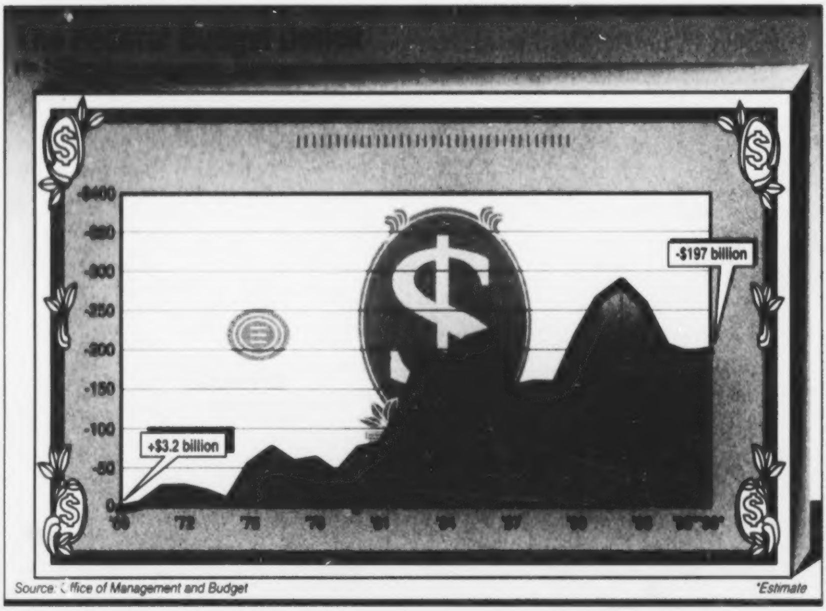
world and undermine the U.S. government's plans to increase investment abroad. In response, the American government promoted a budget deficit reduction plan to address both the U.S. and world economies. In a further attempt to stabilize the world economy, seven of the world's leading industrial nations met in July 1994, at their annual "Group of Seven" (G-7) summit, to coordinate policies and restore hope for economic issues worldwide. The G-7 countries—Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States—discussed trade agreements, unemployment problems, and economic difficulties that affect each of them.

The Economy of the 1980s and 1990s. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan promoted supply-side economics, an economic policy that aimed to raise employment and lower inflation by increasing the supply of goods and services in the economy. President Reagan believed that cutting taxes would give businesses and consumers more cash in hand and would increase productivity because more money would be available for investment in new, more efficient machinery and technological advances. He thought that an increase in profits would automatically increase tax revenues, thereby reducing the budget deficit naturally, without inflation and government interference. Congress approved Reagan's plan.

After boom years in the mid- to late-1980s, the U.S. economy entered a recession in 1990. Some economists and then-presidential candidate Bill Clinton blamed the supply-side policies of Presidents Reagan and Bush for the recession. Once in office, President Clinton promoted a plan to reduce the federal budget deficit, believing that lower deficits would boost the economy.

The Budget Deficit. Despite healthy economic growth during much of the 1980s, the federal



Source: Office of Management and Budget

*Estimate

budget deficit—the amount by which federal government expenditures exceed revenue—tripled during the Reagan and Bush years. Many policymakers blamed heavy increases in defense spending and the 1981 tax cut for the high jump. Others believe spiraling federal spending on entitlement programs like Social Security and Medicare was the culprit.

Because the government spends more money than it receives in taxes, it must borrow money to cover the resulting deficit and to pay interest on money borrowed in previous years. In August 1993, Congress passed President Clinton's deficit reduction plan, which aimed to reduce the deficit by around $500 billion over a period of five years. Many budget experts predict that under the Clinton administration's new budget, annual budget deficits will shrink through 1998 and then begin to rise again. The total national debt, which is the accumulation of

The budget deficit measures the difference between the amount of money the government takes in and the amount of money it spends each year. In the last decade, policymakers have considered tax increases, spending cuts, and a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget as possible ways to lower or eliminate the deficit.

all annual budget deficits, keeps growing: It now stands at around $4.7 trillion. The government pays the holders of this debt—mostly individuals, banks, and corporations—more than $230 billion a year in interest alone.

Administration officials believe that President Clinton's economic program has been successful. They say the economy has moved from recovery to increased expansion because interest-sensitive sectors of the economy—construction and heavy equipment manufacturing and sales—improved at least in part because of lower budget deficits. Others believe the economy was already on the upswing even before Clinton took office, and that his program had little effect.

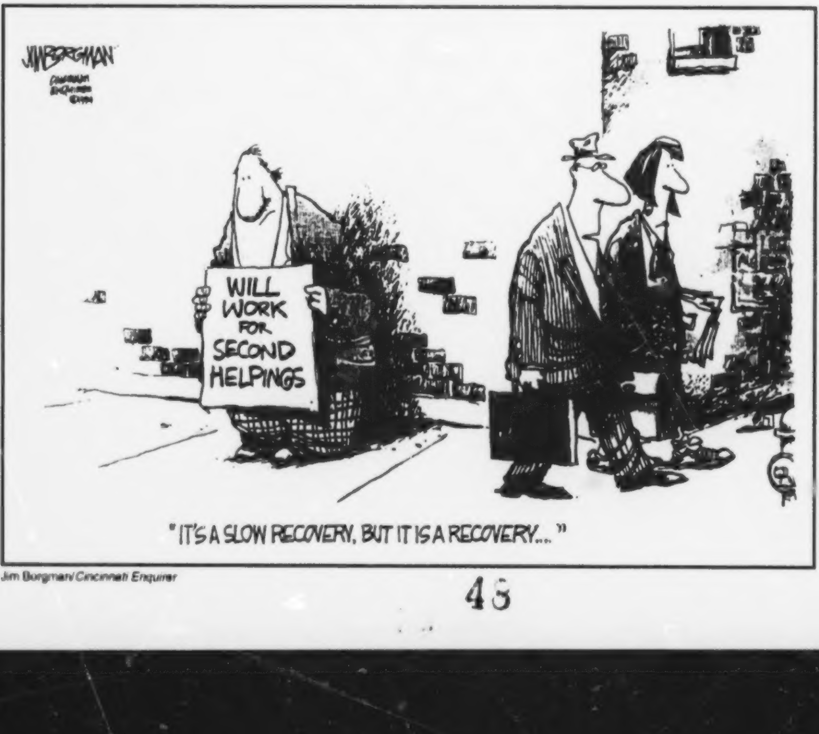
Current Issues

A Balanced Budget Amendment. In 1995, Congress voted on a balanced budget amendment. Although it was approved by the House of Representatives, the amendment fell short by one vote in the Senate. Congressional Republicans, who led the effort to pass the balanced budget amendment, promised to try again in 1996.

Supporters of the balanced budget amendment argue that the president and Congress do not have the courage to make the tough spending cuts and tax increases many believe are necessary to erase the deficit. An amendment, experts contend, would legally obligate Congress to pass a balanced budget and eliminate the huge annual deficits that are driving up the country's debt. Many experts believe that representatives and senators have been afraid to call for drastic spending cuts and/or tax increases to reduce the deficit out of fear that they would not be reelected by their constituents. A constitutional requirement, on the other hand, would lessen political reprisals against members of Congress for making unpopular spending and tax decisions.

Opponents contend that a balanced budget amendment is an overly strict measure that could handcuff the federal government when emergency deficit spending is needed, such as in a time of war, natural disasters, or economic recession. In addition, critics of the amendment argue that reducing the deficit should be done gradually, not in only a few years as the amendment called for. Balancing the budget over the next five to seven years, many experts believe, would require tax increases or drastic cuts in federal spending (especially on programs like Medicare or Social Security), which could harm millions of Americans.

Lower Taxes. Many members of Congress believe that the budget can be balanced while at the same time lowering taxes. Some lawmakers argue that high taxes are suffocating investment and job


JIM BORGMAN
WILL WORK FOR SECOND HELPINGS

"IT'S A SLOW RECOVERY, BUT IT IS A RECOVERY..."

Jim Borgman/Cincinnati Enquirer

growth in the United States, and that the economy will never truly soar unless taxes are reduced. They contend that lower taxes will help create a large number of new jobs, expanding the tax base and providing the government with billions of dollars in new revenue. Both Republicans and Democrats in Congress have offered tax-cutting proposals. Republican plans call for a wide range of tax reduction, while Democrat proposals focus mainly on relieving the burden on middle-class families.

Although both political parties have tax cutters in their ranks, other Republicans and Democrats believe that reducing taxes at a time of $200 billion deficits and a $4.7 trillion national debt is irresponsible. Many lawmakers and economists believe that the economy is strong and does not require a tax-cut stimulus. Critics argue that tax cuts would only inflate the deficit, which would harm the economy in the long term. They point to the Reagan tax cuts and the ensuing deficits of the early 1980s as evidence. They add that while many Americans could use tax relief, the deficit must first be eliminated or drastically reduced.

A Higher Minimum Wage. In January 1995, President Clinton proposed increasing the minimum wage from its current level of $4.25 per hour to $5.15 in two 45-cent increments over two years. The minimum wage was last raised in 1991. The president said people cannot "make ends meet" earning just over $4.00 an hour. He also argued that hiking the minimum wage would provide an incentive for welfare recipients, knowing that they would be paid more than they receive on welfare, to look harder for employment. Supporters of this policy contend that today's minimum wage, when adjusted for inflation, is lower than it was in the 1960s. Many believe that putting more money in the hands of low-income working families will improve the economy because these families will have more to spend.

However, many experts and lawmakers argue that raising the minimum wage would kill jobs. They believe that businesses would be forced to hire fewer workers to make up for the increased costs brought on by a higher minimum wage. Employers would cut back on labor, harming the job prospects of Americans who are about to enter the workforce. Therefore, opponents argue that raising the minimum wage would inadvertently hurt the low-income people it is designed to help.

Outlook

The combination of sustainable growth and stable prices strengthened the U.S. economy in 1994. Unemployment figures dropped, and consumer confidence was evident in the increasing amount of personal spending. However, not all of the nation's economic problems have been solved. Slow economic growth continues in Europe and Japan, which means demand for U.S exports has decreased. Tax increases and cuts in federal spending slowed growth in some sectors of the economy. The president and Congress must carefully pursue two competing goals—reducing the budget deficit and encouraging economic growth. Many experts believe that deficit reduction will require higher taxes and/or major cuts in spending on entitlement programs. Because these measures usually contribute to unemployment, the task of creating economic and job growth is made all the more challenging. The president and Congress will likely spend much of 1995 and 1996 wrestling with these problems.

The Debate

The Economy

Congress Should Pass a Balanced Budget Amendment.

PRO

The president and members of Congress simply do not have the courage to make the difficult decisions needed to balance the budget. Unless the budget is balanced—or at very least, the deficit sharply reduced—future generations of Americans will inherit a huge national debt—one that will destroy the foundations of the U.S. economy. A balanced budget amendment would force lawmakers to take the painful but necessary fiscal measures to end the federal government's long legacy of debt.

CON

Most everyone agrees that the deficit needs to be reduced, but adding an amendment requiring a balanced budget to the Constitution is not the way to do it. Requiring a balanced budget limits the power of the federal government to respond to emergencies. In addition, the spending reductions and tax increases needed to eliminate the debt in only five to seven years would be too severe. The tax hikes would cause a recession, and the spending cuts would victimize Americans who rely on federal assistance.

The Government Should Lower Taxes to Spur Economic Growth.

PRO

The tax burden in the United States discourages investment and undermines economic growth. Congress should provide tax relief to businesses and individuals to free up more money for investment and consumer spending. The lost revenue from these tax cuts would be compensated by spending cuts in other federal programs, so the deficit would not increase as a result.

CON

Now that the budget deficit is under control, the last thing Congress should do is cut taxes. This fiscal policy was tried in the early 1980s and led to huge deficits that tripled the national debt. The economy is growing at a healthy rate; there is no need to stimulate growth. Congress should focus on reducing the deficit with spending cuts and new taxes. Cutting taxes would take billions out of the federal treasury.

The Minimum Wage Should Be Increased.

PRO

A low-income family cannot live decently if the head of the household is only making the minimum wage of $4.25 per hour. Increasing the minimum wage would enable the working poor to provide more for their families. A higher minimum wage would also help government efforts to reform the welfare system by making work more attractive to welfare recipients.

CON

If the minimum wage were increased, many employers would abolish jobs to pay for the increased salaries of other workers. Consequently, a plan designed to help low-income Americans would end up hurting them by reducing the number of low-paying jobs for which they would be qualified. This would cause a rise in unemployment.

Education

Education reform has been a top presidential concern since a 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*, charged that educational mediocrity threatened the future of the United States. The report cited low test scores, watered-down curricula, and a high rate of illiteracy as evidence of the decline in the quality of American education. Schools across the country responded with reforms that included raising the minimum requirements for high school graduation, tightening academic standards, raising teachers' salaries, and lengthening the school day and year. Since the report, many schools have improved, yet overall, test results have shown that on average U.S. students score lower in math and science than their peers in other industrialized countries.

In 1994, Congress passed the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, which establishes eight national education goals and outlines what is expected of all students, teachers, and schools. These goals include raising the high school graduation rate and making American students the world's best in mathematics and science. The law also awards competitive grants to states to finance school improvement plans.

Although most educators believe that these efforts will improve education, others are not convinced. Ultimately, the debate surrounding education today focuses on one question: How can Americans make their schools better?

Key Questions

- Should the federal government subsidize student loans?
- Should parents choose their children's schools?
- Should the federal government set national education standards?

Background

The American School System

Community Approach. Education—especially literacy—has always been valued by Americans. The Puritans viewed education as an important means of passing on religious teachings. Later, Americans thought that publicly supported education could wipe out the legacy of the British system where the ability to read and write separated the economic classes. Since its inception, the public school system has Americanized immigrant children, teaching them the English language and the values necessary to thrive as residents of the United States.

Funded and operated locally for the most part, the U.S. public school system is highly decentralized. Local school districts determine programs of study, select books, hire teachers, and set school budgets. A school district might encompass an entire county or city or just a small geographical

American schools have always been highly decentralized. The local community controlled this nineteenth-century school and determined what its students would learn. Today, schools are still run by local communities through school boards and administrators. However, their power is reduced by increased state and federal involvement.

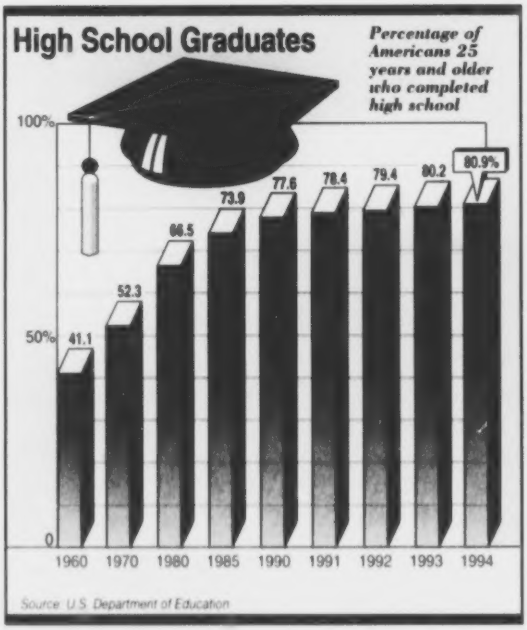
National Archives

segment of a community. A superintendent manages each school district, while a school board—usually elected—makes budget and policy decisions. The federal government was not significantly involved in education until the 1950s and 1960s, when it increased its share of school financing to help eliminate inequality among schools and raise educational standards.

The Great Society. In the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson addressed the problem of poverty through his Great Society programs. "Poverty has many roots," Johnson said, "but the taproot is ignorance." He proposed three new federal education programs: the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), and the Higher Education Act (1965). These laws:

- established adult literacy programs;
- funded Project Head Start, a preschool program for children from low-income families;
- narrowed the gap in school funding between wealthy and disadvantaged states;
- designated federal money for schools to offer special programs, such as remedial reading, for low-income students;
- assisted states in buying textbooks, library resources, and instructional materials;
- established and supported guidance and testing centers;
- provided federal scholarships for needy college students; and
- made available federally financed loans for students wishing to go to college.

The number of people completing twelve years of school has increased over the years. More than three-fourths of all Americans today receive a high school diploma, compared with only one-fourth in 1940.



Source: U.S. Department of Education

School Desegregation. In the landmark 1954 case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the Supreme Court ruled that racially segregated public schools were unconstitutional because "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Subsequent court decisions ordered schools to begin desegregating immediately. To comply with court orders, many school districts instituted busing programs, which transported students to schools outside their neighborhoods to bring together children of different races and ethnic backgrounds. In 1991, the Supreme Court ruled that school districts can be released from court-ordered busing plans if they have done their best to eliminate the effects of segregation.

Some school systems have tried to encourage integration by establishing magnet schools. Magnet schools attract students to nonneighborhood schools that specialize in the performing arts, science, math, or foreign languages.

In spite of these efforts, studies published in 1994 (the fortieth anniversary of the *Brown* decision) suggest that the nation's schools are becoming resegregated. Most experts link this trend to white Americans moving from the cities to the suburbs and to other housing trends. While the United States does not officially support segregated housing, people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds often live in separate neighborhoods. Many people fear that school resegregation will result in increased racism and discrimination in American society—the very ills the *Brown* decision was supposed to help mend.

Head Start. Project Head Start, instituted as part of President Johnson's Great Society, provides education, nutrition, and health programs to disadvantaged children. The program operates in about 1,300 centers in communities nationwide, and the Clinton administration has expanded its services. Head Start attempts to teach 3- and 4-year-olds basic concepts such as prereading skills and self-esteem—skills that many believe will help break the poverty cycle over time. Although the success of the program is celebrated by many, others see President Clinton's proposal to increase

National Education Association/Joe Di Dio

In many schools, magnet programs have helped integration efforts. However, a 1994 report found that the nation's public schools are becoming resegregated. The separation of black and white students is now at the highest level since 1968, and the separation of Hispanic students is at an all-time high.

funding as excessive. They point out that the government spends between $3,700 and $4,000 per preschooler in the program. President Clinton's 1996 budget requested $4 billion for Head Start, $400 million more than he requested in the 1995 budget.

Financial Disparity. Some Americans say that a major problem with the U.S. education system is the way tax money is dispensed to local schools. Schools are often funded unequally because local property taxes, commonly used to finance education, vary widely. Districts with high property values can afford better schools and teachers than can lower-income districts. Some school systems have challenged this disparity in funding by bringing lawsuits against the states. In 1994, twenty-eight states were involved in legal cases over the way they finance public education. In a March 1994 referendum, Michigan residents voted to use increases in sales taxes and other taxes—rather than property taxes—to fund their public schools more fairly. While Michigan's plan has its critics, other states including Minnesota, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Wisconsin are also considering new ways to fund their public schools.

Education Today. After a decade of reform and a 40 percent increase in state and federal spending on education, experts disagree on the results of recent reforms. Students are now taking more English, mathematics, science, and social studies classes and fewer elective and nonacademic subjects. But challenges remain. Test scores on college entrance examinations have not improved as much as hoped. American students in many states still score lower on math and science tests than do their peers in most other industrialized countries. The percentage of students who drop out of high school has dropped slightly for white and black students, but continues at a high rate for Hispanic stu-

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The Clinton administration plans to redirect federal aid from prosperous school districts to underfunded schools in cities and rural areas in hopes that the less wealthy districts can replace old schools like that shown at the bottom with new, modern facilities such as the school pictured above.

dents. However, educators hope that the latest reforms will help solve some of these problems.

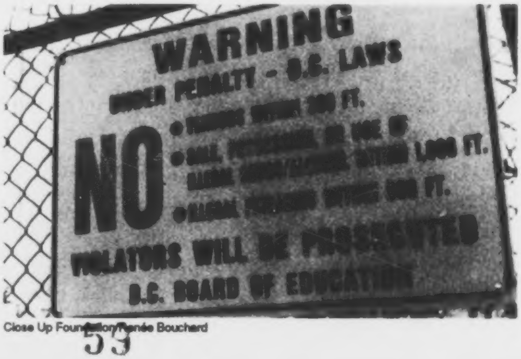
Current Issues

Student Loans. One of the largest areas of federal spending on education is allocated for college loans. The federal government began offering loans to lower- and middle-income college students in the 1960s as an investment in the nation's future. The government pays the interest on the loan while the student attends school, but the student must pay back the loan within ten years after graduation. In the 1993/94 academic year, the federal government backed more than 6.3 million student loans.

Many have criticized student loan programs because of growing costs and the high number of loans not paid back (defaulted loans). In an average year, student loan programs, including the subsidized interest payments and defaulted loans, cost the government between $4 and $5 billion.

Government officials have tried new ways to cut down on these costs and to ensure repayment. Since its inception, the federal student loan program has been administered through a complex network of private banks that grant loans guaranteed by the government. The Congressional Budget Office found that a direct lending program that bypasses banks would save taxpayers $4.3 billion over the next five years and cut down on fraud. Thus, in 1994, the federal government began loaning money directly to students. In an effort to encourage college graduates to take lower-paying community service jobs and to reduce defaults, the new student loan program allows students to repay their loans based on the amount of money they make upon graduation. The more a student earns, the larger their monthly payment. Under the new program students can lower their monthly payments by taking up to twenty-five years to repay their loans. Supporters say these changes make a college education more affordable for more Americans and will greatly reduce the amount of government money lost on defaulted loans.

Critics argue that the new loan program is not beneficial to most college graduates because it actually makes college more expensive. The extra



Some schools like this one in Washington, D.C., post anti-gun signs as part of new programs to help reduce a growing youth murder rate. Violence threatens the safety of students and faculty in schools all across the country. Almost one-half of students surveyed in 1993 knew of someone who carried a weapon to school, and one-third of all students felt unsafe at school.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

interest on a twenty-five year loan more than doubles the cost of a college education. Others contend that the government is dismantling the old system before it is sure the new loan program will work. Some experts say the government may not be able to administer the direct lending program as efficiently as the banks did, resulting in little or no savings for the taxpayer.

School Choice. In 1991 President George Bush introduced an educational reform that offered parents the option of choosing to send their children to any public school they wish. Supporters of school choice argue that schools will improve if they must compete for students. When a student leaves one school to attend another, the new school receives state funds to educate that student while the old school loses that money. The theory behind giving parents and students a choice is that good schools will attract more students and receive more state funds. Bad schools, if they do not improve, will eventually have to close as their enrollments and state funding decrease. Some advocates of school choice have proposed that parents be given government vouchers to spend like cash for their children's education at any school—public or private.

Opponents of choice programs say that such programs will lead to resegregation, especially in urban school systems. These critics believe that middle- and upper-income parents will remove their children from integrated schools while parents with lower incomes will be unable to provide transportation to get their children to schools outside their local communities. Moreover, critics contend that inner-city schools, which need government funds most for economically disadvantaged students, will lose that money as enrollments decline. Opponents also argue that vouchers violate the constitutional separation of church and state because many private schools are run by churches.

New History Standards

In late 1994, new standards for teaching both U.S. and world history were released by a national council funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Both sets of standards were harshly criticized for their lack of focus on Western civilization, famous men, and great events. Critics say the new teaching guidelines lack balance, organization, and relevance to American students. Supporters claim the standards projects involved many teachers and history professors from around the country and aim to be inclusive. They say it is up to each state, and ultimately each teacher, to decide what to cover in class. But supporters also hope that the heated debates over what is taught will renew the public's interest in history.

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Mainstreaming

Until the 1970s, children with disabilities had to attend expensive private schools or no school at all because public schools were ill-equipped to handle their special needs. In the mid-1970s, federal courts ruled that children with disabilities have the right to an education in the "least restrictive environment" possible. Students with disabilities, the courts said, should be "mainstreamed" whenever possible—that is, they should attend classes with the rest of the student body.

Federal Oversight and National Standards. Traditionally, control of public schools has rested with local governments. However, over the years, state governments have become increasingly involved in overseeing issues like textbook selection, teacher certification, school choice, and equitable school funding. But until recently, the federal government has not had much to say about education standards. In the early 1990s, the federal government became more active in setting a national education agenda. In April 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, which sets out eight National Education Goals and provides money to help states meet those goals. The eight goals are:

- All children in America will start school ready to learn.
- The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
- American students will be competent in all core academic subjects.
- American students will be first in the world in science and mathematics.
- Every adult American will be literate and possess the skills necessary to compete in a global economy.
- Every school in America will be safe, disciplined, and drug free.
- American teachers will have access to programs for the continued improvement of their professional skills.
- Every school will promote partnerships to increase parental involvement.

Before Goals 2000, the federal government's role in education was limited to ensuring that low-income and disabled students are educated and protecting civil rights in schools. Supporters of the new legislation believe that establishing national education standards will help guide teachers' expectations of students and provide a benchmark for evaluating local and national educational reform. Supporters also believe that national educational standards, voluntarily implemented by the states, will help the future U.S. workforce become more competitive in the global market.

Critics of the program say that state and local authorities, not the federal government, should set education reforms and standards. While states' adherence to reform measures is voluntary, opponents argue that offering financial rewards to school systems that propose reforms amounts to federal control of education. Moreover, critics believe that national standards will inevitably lead to a national curriculum, the content of which may be fiercely opposed in some school districts. Moreover, critics also point out that Goals 2000 adds another expensive bureaucratic layer to the educational process, and they question how efficiently government grant money will reach individual schools.

States and School Choice

Many states and local school districts already allow school choice. After residents opposed a voucher-based school choice referendum, California legislators adopted a new law allowing statewide school choice—without vouchers—in 1994. Minnesota led the nation with open enrollment several years before California's move.

Outlook

As schools try to improve, they are turning to new methods of restructuring and funding. Businesses, universities, teachers, parents, state governments, and the federal government are becoming more involved in deciding how and what children should be taught. Because education has traditionally been a local concern, the federal government's involvement causes debate. While many school systems welcome federal money, some people are concerned that the government may begin dictating how and what their children learn. As education reform continues, the questions of who should lead these efforts and what direction these efforts should take remain unanswered.

The Debate

Education

The Federal Government Should Subsidize Student Loans.

PRO

Over the past ten years, college tuition has skyrocketed, especially for private institutions. Lower- and middle-income families with more than one child in college are particularly hard hit. Now that reforms are in place, the government should continue to subsidize student loans because they are a good investment in the nation's future.

CON

Too many people have abused federally financed student loans. Many loans have gone to middle-income students who later defaulted after leaving school or graduating. Even with reforms, defaults will continue. Fairness dictates that the student should pay the cost of student loans, not the federal government and the taxpayers.

Parents Should Choose Their Children's Schools.

PRO

Parents should be allowed to select schools that will best educate their children. Allowing parents to choose would force schools to improve to attract students and the government money that comes with each student enrollment. Schools that do not perform well would be forced to either get better or close. Choice programs would improve education by weeding out poorly performing schools to leave schools with good facilities, broad curricula, abundant supplies, and well-paid, skilled teachers.

CON

If parents were allowed to choose their children's schools, middle- and upper-income families would remove their children from inner-city schools, leaving students from lower-income families. With fewer classmates, the remaining students would attend schools that get fewer government dollars. Urban schools would be not be able to provide a decent education to their students. Small schools in rural areas might also suffer if students were allowed to transfer to larger schools nearby.

The Federal Government Should Set National Education Standards.

PRO

National educational standards are necessary to ensure quality education in every school across the country. Such standards set clearly defined goals for schools and guidelines for evaluating student achievements. In addition, the present standards are issued on a voluntary basis. If most states participate, school systems will produce citizens.

CON

State and local governments should continue to control educational standards. National standards will create a national curriculum, which is sure to be controversial and divisive. Furthermore, present national standards lack tests to assess their success. Moreover, federal involvement adds more bureaucracy and costs to the education system.

Women and Minorities

The authors of the Constitution might be shocked to see the many Americans who have been granted civil rights protections. When the Constitution was written in 1787, only white male property owners were protected by it and given the right to vote. Gradually, rights were extended by law to nonlandowners, racial minorities, and women. In the 1960s and 1970s, federal lawmakers outlawed discrimination based on race and gender and passed laws to protect the rights of minorities and women. Soon, other groups in the United States, such as older Americans and people with disabilities, began to demand—and win—their rights.

Although the United States has made great progress toward protecting its people from discrimination, some Americans say that such protection has not gone far enough. They favor stronger laws to guarantee that victims of discrimination are treated fairly by employers, businesses, and schools. Homosexuals, for example, are demanding that they be added to the list of groups the government protects from discrimination.

However, some Americans believe that civil rights legislation has gone too far. They contend that certain government-granted rights and guarantees, designed to redress past wrongs against certain groups of people, may actually discriminate against other groups. Lawmakers and courts face the difficult task of ensuring that the rights of all people living in the United States are protected.

Key Questions

- **Should affirmative action be abolished?**
- **Should the government support comparable worth policies?**
- **Should homosexual couples be granted the same rights as married heterosexual couples?**

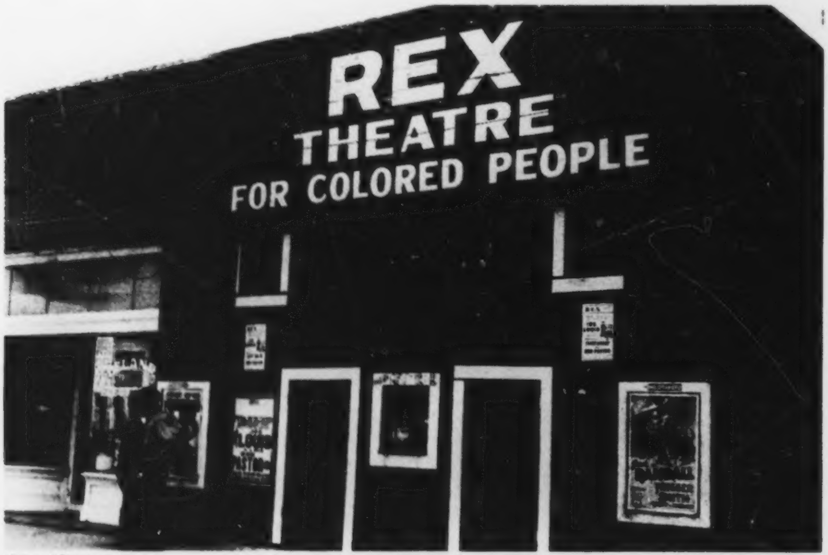
Background

Discrimination in America

Racial Discrimination. After the Civil War, three constitutional amendments gave former slaves full rights of citizenship: the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed civil rights; and the Fifteenth Amendment, which granted black males the right to vote. However, racial prejudice could not be legislated away easily. After postwar Reconstruction, southern leaders implemented "Jim Crow" laws, which segregated public facilities by race. These laws affected restaurants, theaters, schools, and even drinking fountains. In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld such laws in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, saying that segregation was legal as long as "separate but equal" facilities were provided.

In 1948, President Harry Truman proposed several reforms to address racial discrimination. He ordered the military to desegregate its units.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1868, guaranteed former slaves their civil rights. But the United States remained a nation legally divided by race for nearly 100 more years. Not until passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were the "Jim Crow" laws that segregated the races finally prohibited.



Library of Congress

Truman also proposed bills to protect all citizens' right to vote, to prohibit lynching, and to end discrimination on trains and other interstate transportation facilities. However, powerful southern senators and representatives in Congress blocked attempts at reform.

Civil Rights Reforms. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* sparked the modern civil rights movement. The Court unanimously ruled that maintaining separate schools for blacks and whites was unconstitutional because separate schools could not offer equal educational opportunities. Federal court judges later ordered many school districts to redraw boundary lines and bus children to schools outside their own neighborhoods, if necessary, to achieve racial integration.

Civil Rights Act of 1957. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first attempt since Reconstruction to institute comprehensive civil rights legislation. This law made it illegal to prevent people from voting in federal elections. It also created the U.S. Civil Rights Commission—an independent government advisory panel—and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. However, the act had many loopholes and proved largely ineffective in securing the universal right to vote.

Twenty-fourth Amendment. In 1964, the Twenty-fourth Amendment was ratified. This amendment barred the use of a poll tax (a tax that was often used to prevent low-income African Americans from voting) or any other tax in federal elections. A 1966 Supreme Court ruling extended the amendment to state and local elections.

Civil Rights Act of 1964. The landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations such as restaurants and hotels and in programs receiving federal aid. This far-reaching legislation also prohibited job discrimination by employers and unions, established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and strengthened enforcement of voting and desegregation laws.

Voting Rights Act. Passed in 1965, the Voting Rights Act was aimed at eliminating local laws and practices that were still preventing African Americans and other minorities from voting. The act forbids literacy tests, poll taxes, and intimidation of voters in any state. In communities with a history of discrimination, federal officials are required to make sure that proper voter registration and election procedures are followed. These communities must clear with federal officials any proposed changes in election laws and prove that such changes will not discriminate against minorities.

Protection from Discrimination in Housing. In 1968, Congress extended civil rights protection to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of some 80 percent of the nation's housing. (Housing not covered includes property sold without the help of a real estate agent.) The legislation also prohibits discriminatory references in real estate advertisements. However, many experts say that this law is difficult to enforce and that people continue to live in certain areas because of their race and income.

Recent Civil Rights Legislation. In 1982, Congress renewed the Voting Rights Act for another twenty-five years and added a provision that requires certain areas of the country to provide bilingual election materials. In 1988, Congress passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which prevents institutions that receive government money from discriminating on the basis of gender, race, age, or disability. The Supreme Court had interpreted earlier legislation to prohibit schools, governments, private organizations, and corporations from discriminating only

Age Discrimination

Civil rights advocates say that being denied work or forced out of a job because of one's age is little different from being denied employment because of race or gender. To protect the rights of older Americans, Congress passed the Age Discrimination and Employment Act of 1967, which bars discrimination against people between the ages of 40 and 70. It also forbids most employers from establishing a mandatory retirement age.

in programs for which they received federal funds. But the 1988 act restored civil rights protections to all programs run by such institutions, even if only one project receives federal aid. In 1991, President George Bush signed a new civil rights law, expanding workers' rights in discrimination disputes.

Discrimination on the Basis of Gender. In the 1960s and early 1970s, women began mobilizing support against gender discrimination. Inspired by the civil rights movement, women sought greater access to jobs, more political influence, and a greater recognition of their equality and competence. The women's movement that continues today has roots that stretch back more than 140 years.

Suffrage Movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony led the movement to get the vote for women. In the mid-1800s, they and other suffragists were involved in efforts to abolish slavery and secure equal rights for black people. The suffragists tried to include women in the Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, which guaranteed the right to vote to all men regardless of race. However, that idea was blocked by members of Congress who feared that a provision giving women the vote would keep the entire amendment from passing.

MR. PRESIDENT
HOW LONG
MUST
WOMEN WAIT
FOR LIBERTY

National Archives

Suffragists like the one pictured above led a long campaign to give women the right to vote. Women were granted that right nationwide by ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

Despite this setback, the suffrage movement continued, and by 1912 women had won the right to vote in nine western states. In 1916, the National Woman's Party organized support for a national suffrage amendment, and on August 16, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, extending to women the right to vote in all state and national elections.

Laws Against Gender Discrimination. The women's rights movement made great progress in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1963, Congress adopted the Equal Pay Act, which guaranteed equal pay for men and women who perform equal work. The 1964 Civil Rights Act also prohibited job discrimination based on gender. In the early 1970s, the Supreme Court applied the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to strike down laws that discriminated against women. A 1972 law bars gender-based discrimination in all education programs receiving federal support. And in 1978, Congress amended the Civil Rights Act to prohibit job discrimination against pregnant women. Despite progress in achieving equal rights, many still felt that only a constitutional amendment could correct gender discrimination for good.

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). In 1971, Congress passed a proposed amendment to the Constitution that supporters believed would guarantee equal rights for women. Commonly called the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), it stated: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." When the 1982 deadline for ratification passed, the controversial amendment was not added to the Constitution because it fell a few states short of the three-fourths necessary for ratification.

Discrimination Against People with Disabilities. In the past, men and women with disabilities have had to fight both social and physical barriers to achieve relative equality. Visually or hearing-impaired people and those with physical disabilities were often segregated in special schools and denied college educations. Without adequate education, disabled men and women often had to settle for low-paying jobs that required few skills. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 outlawed some barriers to equal education and created job opportunities for disabled people. The law prohibited employers who receive federal aid or who work

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

In the past twenty years, the denial of rights to physically and mentally disabled persons has become a major issue. People with disabilities demanded equal treatment, and now federal laws provide people with disabilities equal access to education, jobs, public buildings, and mass transportation.

on government contracts from refusing to hire people with disabilities. The act also required that colleges make buildings accessible to people who are blind or in wheelchairs. In 1975, Congress passed the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, requiring that public schools guarantee education to children with disabilities. In addition, Congress extended protection against discrimination in housing to disabled Americans in 1988.

In 1990, Congress passed the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), the most extensive civil rights legislation since the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This law protects people with physical and mental impairments by prohibiting discrimination in employment, transportation, telecommunications, services, and public places such as restaurants, theaters, and stores. To comply, some companies and institutions underwent major changes to provide wider doors, convenient parking, hearing aids, braille information, and communication services for disabled people. The law also requires all transportation services to be fully accessible to persons with disabilities by July 1996.

Discrimination Against Homosexuals. In recent years, homosexual men and women have asked the government to protect them from discrimination and have begun to demand equal rights. Homosexuals are commonly forbidden from adopting children and from extending employment benefits reserved for spouses to their partners. Although federal law does not extend civil rights protections based on sexual orientation, some cities, counties, and states have passed some types of bans on discriminating against homosexuals. Conversely, other communities thought protections were going too far, and banned homosexual antidiscrimination legislation.

The first federal law dealing with sexual orientation was the Hate Crime Statistics Act, passed in 1990. This law requires the government to collect data on crimes motivated by prejudice, including crimes against homosexuals. The Americans with Disabilities Act protects people who have AIDS or AIDS-related illnesses—many of whom are homosexuals—from discrimination.

Gays in the Military. In October 1993, Congress approved a "don't ask, don't tell" policy concerning homosexuals in the military. "Don't ask, don't tell" bars military recruiters from asking enlistees to disclose their sexual orientation. The plan also prohibits "witch-hunts"

Keith Meinhold (shown third from right) was discharged from the U.S. Navy in August 1992 because he declared his homosexuality on national television. Meinhold then sued the U.S. Navy, claiming that his discharge was unconstitutional, and was reinstated to his former position.

AP/Wide World Photos

to determine if a soldier is gay. The policy does allow, however, for the discharge of a soldier who displays homosexual conduct.

Current Issues

Affirmative Action. In the late 1960s, the concept of affirmative action grew out of attempts by President Lyndon Johnson and Congress to make up for years of race and gender discrimination. Federal regulations ordered employers who receive federal money to give preference to qualified women and minorities in hiring and promoting. Universities and colleges have adopted affirmative action in offering admission to more minorities and women. Local and state governments use affirmative action to award more contracts to minority-owned businesses. In some cases, affirmative action is a mandatory policy for businesses, state and local governments, and educational organizations receiving federal funding. However, many other organizations have adopted affirmative action voluntarily. The goal of affirmative action is to match the sexual and racial composition of the workplace and higher education with that of society as a whole.

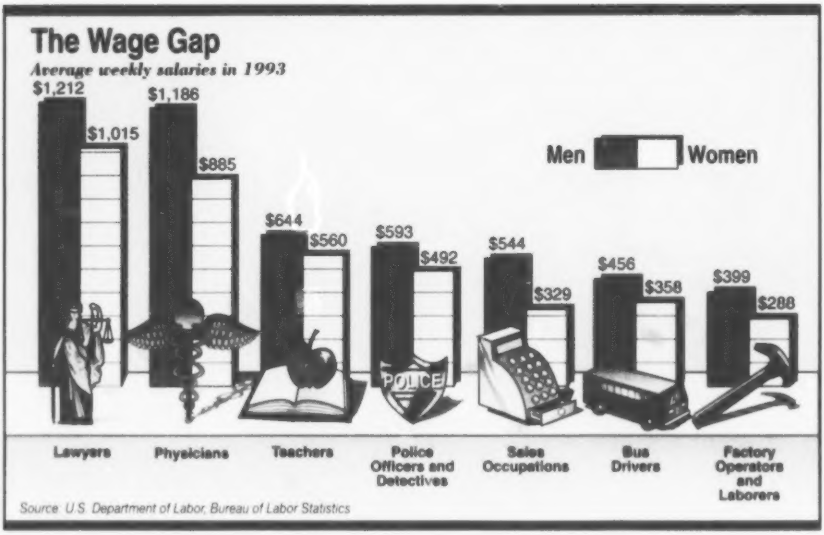
However, affirmative action has come under review recently, as the Supreme Court and lower courts hear cases alleging "reverse discrimination" against white males and white-run businesses. In 1995, California residents began an initiative to reverse affirmative action in their state, a measure that may appear as a referendum on California ballots in 1996.

Supporters of affirmative action believe that such laws have been an effective tool for correcting bias in hiring, college enrollment, and government contracting. Supporters believe that affirmative action is still needed because the economic position of minorities, relative to white workers, has declined. Unemployment rates continue to be higher among black and Hispanic workers, and women and minority workers in the same occupation still earn significantly less than white men. Supporters believe that while affirmative action is not always a perfectly fair means of creating new opportunities for women and minorities, no better means of achieving that end have been proposed.

On the other hand, many Americans argue that affirmative action forces employers, universities, and governments to consider race and gender above other qualifications or merits. Opponents say that many institutions have begun to favor various minorities even though there is no evidence of prior discrimination against a particular group. They also contend that affirmative action implies that minorities and women cannot compete on an even playing field with other Americans, thereby undermining the self-esteem and the successes of hard-working minorities and women. Critics argue that affirmative action now does more harm than good, and that the time has come to honor individual merit over group rights.

Comparable Worth. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 guarantees "equal pay for equal work," regardless of gender or race. However, studies show that currently, the average salary for a woman is about 70 percent of the average salary for a man, and that jobs filled mainly by women pay less than comparable jobs held by men. Some civil rights advocates believe that salaries for jobs commonly held by women should be raised to the level of men's salaries for jobs that require comparable effort, skill, experience, education, and responsibility—that is, equal pay for work of comparable value.

Supporters of comparable worth policies argue that the pay disparity shows that women are still discriminated against in the workplace.


The Wage Gap

Average weekly salaries in 1993

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics

They say that comparable worth standards could first be applied through a job rating system that would assign points for each job based on the type of skills and experience required. Advocates believe that such a system would help overcome differences in wages caused by tradition, male-dominated unions, and employer preferences in selecting men for high-paying jobs.

Critics of comparable worth policies argue that wage differences are not the result of discrimination but rather of free-market forces such as competition and laws of supply and demand. They believe that women generally earn less than men because women do not have the same education, experience, or career goals. Opponents of comparable worth policies point out that women are gradually moving into higher-paying jobs and that the overall wage gap is narrowing. They add that determination of comparable worth is subjective, impossible to enforce, and costly to implement. Despite the opposition, several states now require their public agencies to pay the same salaries to employees in jobs traditionally held by women that require skills comparable to those required in jobs commonly held by men.

Domestic Partners. Homosexual couples are not allowed to legally marry, and therefore are denied rights that are generally granted to married persons. For example, married people can be covered under their spouse's health plans, file joint tax returns, and make important medical decisions for their spouses. When people die, their spouses are entitled to inherit the other's property, make funeral arrangements, and take bereavement leave. Most communities deny similar rights to homosexual partners. However, several local governments have granted some rights to homosexual couples, and a few localities have allowed such couples to legally register as "domestic partners." Domestic partner laws do not grant homosexual couples all the rights of married couples, but some communities, such as San Francisco, do allow domestic partners who work for the city government to enroll their partners for health care benefits.

Advocates for homosexual rights hope that many businesses will follow suit and that additional rights will eventually be granted to domestic partners. Supporters of granting health care benefits to domestic partners say that because as much as 40 percent of a worker's compensation comes from fringe benefits, it is unfair to give heterosexual employees more benefits than homosexuals who perform the same work. They believe that denying homosexual couples the same rights granted to married couples is discriminatory.

Opponents of allowing homosexuals to register as domestic partners and granting them the rights of married couples say that such rights could be easily abused. That argue that workers could use such rights to get health benefits for

The National Museum of the American Indian

In 1994, the first building of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), part of the Smithsonian Institution, opened in New York. Eventually the NMAI will include a Maryland storage site and a museum on the Mall in Washington, D.C. The museum collection includes more than a million objects spanning 10,000 years, two continents, and 600 tribes. Operated by American Indians, the museum is intended to present the native philosophy inherent in the objects it displays. However, critics say that the New York exhibits replace the "ruthless savages of American folklore" with an equally simplistic and inaccurate depiction of people living in harmony with nature and each other.

people who are merely friends, roommates, or acquaintances. Others contend that extending benefits to the domestic partners of employees could add significantly to the insurance costs of businesses. In addition, some foes of granting rights to homosexual partners believe that homosexuality is morally wrong and that the government should not support such unions. They say that if governments allow same-sex unions to be registered, benefits would then have to be extended to any other groups or unmarried couples who claim to be domestic partners.

Outlook

Despite progress in guaranteeing civil rights, some Americans believe that discrimination is still a problem. They say that the federal government has not done enough to eliminate discrimination against minorities, women, homosexuals, older Americans, and people with disabilities. They argue that such groups need more legal protection to be free of discrimination at work and in society. However, others contend that government actions to eliminate past discrimination have actually promoted reverse discrimination against other groups. It is up to policymakers to decide if—and if so, how many—new groups will be singled out for protection by antidiscrimination laws.

The Debate

Women and Minorities

Affirmative Action Should Be Abolished.

PRO	CON
Affirmative action is just another term for quotas. Years ago, quotas were used to prevent qualified minorities from getting jobs. Using quotas to help minorities and women is no less discriminatory. Employers should be able to hire the most qualified employee for the job, regardless of race or gender.	Affirmative action compensates for past and present job discrimination. These policies ensure that qualified workers do not lose out solely because of their gender or race. Eliminating affirmative action policies would give employers an excuse to return to the discriminatory hiring practices of the past.

The Government Should Support Comparable Worth Policies.

PRO	CON
Despite the Equal Pay Act of 1963, women's salaries average only 70 percent of men's salaries. Salaries should be based on the skills, responsibilities, and experience necessary to do the job. Comparable worth legislation would correct this wage imbalance by raising salaries in occupations dominated by women to match those in comparable occupations filled mainly by men.	Discrimination itself did not cause the salary differences between men and women. Until recently, not many women have had the education or experience to qualify for higher-paying jobs. As more women stay in school and gain work experience, they will move into higher-paying jobs and the wage gap will shrink. Government intervention in the marketplace is not wise.

Homosexual Couples Should Be Granted the Same Rights as Married Heterosexual Couples.

PRO	CON
Homosexual couples should be entitled to the same employment benefits and property inheritance as their married peers. To deny such rights just because the partners are the same sex is unfair and discriminatory. Up to 40 percent of a worker's compensation can come from fringe benefits, and homosexual couples should not be denied these earnings.	Homosexual unions are wrong, and the government should not encourage them by granting same-sex couples the rights that accompany marriage. Granting legal status to these relationships could force the government to give other groups of unmarried people similar benefits, which could be abused and could drive up benefits costs for businesses.

Poverty

One of the most controversial public policy issues in the United States in 1994 and 1995 was poverty. Across the country, politicians and sociologists debate the cause of poverty and what should be done to alleviate its effects. Although the issue has gained new prominence recently, poverty has been a serious social problem in America for more than 150 years.

The federal government's role in fighting poverty did not begin until the Great Depression of the 1930s, when President Franklin Roosevelt introduced his New Deal legislation—federally funded programs such as Social Security, unemployment insurance, and job programs to help needy Americans. During the next fifty years, social programs mushroomed. Today, the federal government helps low-income and retired Americans by supplementing their incomes, paying their medical bills, subsidizing their rent, paying their fuel bills, issuing coupons for food, and helping them find jobs.

However, as poverty has gotten worse for many Americans and the cost of these social programs continues to grow, many have called for a reevaluation of government's role in reducing poverty. At the center of the debate is the issue of welfare reform. In 1995, President Bill Clinton and the newly elected Republican-majority Congress each proposed major changes to the welfare system. Welfare reform has become one of the most hotly debated issues of the decade. Lawmakers face difficult choices in deciding what programs to cut to lower the budget deficit and what programs to fund to assist the people who need help the most.

Key Questions

- Should the government limit welfare benefits to two years?
- Should the government offer financial assistance to the working poor?
- Should the government establish enterprise zones in impoverished areas?

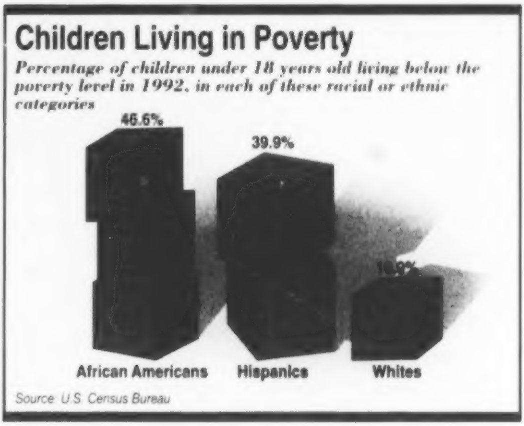
Background

Helping People in Need

Roosevelt's New Deal. When elected in 1932, President Franklin Roosevelt introduced a program called the New Deal to help American families overcome the lasting effects of the Great Depression and to protect them against future economic failures. Roosevelt believed that the federal government had a special obligation to help unemployed, low-income, and older Americans. Most New Deal programs provided jobs and social insurance rather than direct relief. Programs such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which employed people, and Social Security, which provided income to older and disabled American men and women, initiated the social welfare system in the United States. The WPA and other New Deal programs reflected Roosevelt's belief that payment should depend on work. The Social Security Act provided insurance for unemployed and retired Americans and public assistance for older and blind citizens and children in homes without wage earners.

President Franklin Roosevelt introduced his New Deal in 1932, citing the need for the federal government to help disadvantaged American men and women.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library



Children Living in Poverty

Percentage of children under 18 years old living below the poverty level in 1992, in each of these racial or ethnic categories

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The National Center for Children in Poverty says that 6 million American children under age 6 were living in poverty in 1992. The Center also points out that nearly three in five of these children had working parents. Those 6 million children represent 26 percent of the total population in that age group.

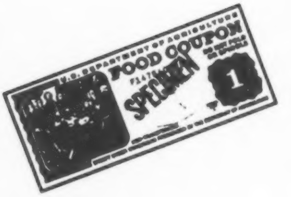
Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. In1964, President Lyndon Johnson declared that no society could be great with poverty in its midst. Along with a major civil rights law, he implemented social programs that included Medicare and Medicaid and programs designed to eliminate poverty by moving people up the economic ladder through vocational education and job training. Johnson called his plan the Great Society.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created rehabilitation services, preschool education programs, training and jobs programs for young people, and retraining programs for unemployed Americans. President Johnson also increased federal spending to provide older men and women with health care and others in need with food, clothing, and housing.

Social Programs Today

Most social programs are entitlement programs: Everyone who qualifies is entitled to receive benefits. Because, in theory, entitlement programs have no budgetary ceiling, costs are difficult to plan or cut. The only ways to reduce spending on entitlement programs are to restrict eligibility or to reduce the amount of benefits each person receives. For example, many programs guarantee an annual cost-of-living adjustment (COLA), which provides yearly increases based on the rate of inflation. The government could save money by keeping COLAs below the inflation rate. However, the disadvantage of reducing COLAs is that people who depend on entitlement programs cannot keep up with inflation; thus, their buying power is reduced.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Created in 1935 as part of Social Security to aid widowed mothers, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was expanded in the 1960s to include mothers who never married or who were divorced. AFDC is the program most often associated with the term "welfare," although it is only one of several welfare programs. AFDC payments go to low-income families with children under 18 in which one or both parents are deceased, incapacitated, absent, or unemployed. In practice, most payments go to single mothers. The federal government and the states share AFDC costs, which grew dramatically during the recession of the early 1990s. In 1994, 5 million families received AFDC benefits, up from 4.7 million in 1992. Currently there is no federal limit on the amount of time someone can collect AFDC benefits. According to national research, 22 percent of AFDC recipients spend five or more years receiving benefits.



Food Stamps

Under the government's food stamp program, millions of Americans are able to pay for food with government coupons instead of money. The U.S. Department of Agriculture spent nearly half its budget on food stamps and other food programs in 1994, helping feed 27.4 million people.

Food Stamps. The Department of Agriculture instituted the federal food stamp program in 1964 to ensure that people with little or no income would have enough to eat. Instead of providing money, the food stamp program gives coupons—or vouchers—that are redeemable for food only. In 1994, the U.S. government spent more than $23 billion on food stamps. That year, the program helped feed 27.4 million people—almost 10 percent of the population.

Poverty can affect those who live in both rural and urban areas. In urban areas, housing is often crowded and in disrepair.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Health Care. Medicaid and Medicare were established in 1965 as part of the Great Society. Medicaid provides people with low incomes with free or subsidized medical care. More than 32 million people were on the Medicaid roll in 1994. Medicaid payments, which are funded jointly by federal and state governments, totaled $91.9 billion in fiscal year 1994.

Medicare, also instituted in 1965, pays health care benefits to more than 33 million older and disabled Americans. The government allotted almost $133 billion for Medicare payments in fiscal year 1994. While many lower-income, older Americans benefit from Medicaid, all people of retirement age receive Medicare benefits.

Supplementary Security Income. The Supplementary Security Income program, created in 1974, provides cash benefits for persons who are blind or disabled, older Americans, and others with special needs and low incomes. In 1994, the federal government paid $19.4 billion through this program to about 6 million people.

Public Housing. Established in 1965, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) builds low-cost public housing, provides assistance to private companies that build low-cost housing, and subsidizes rent payments for needy people. More than 4.5 million Americans currently live in public housing.

Social Security. Formally named Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, Social Security is by far the nation's largest social program, accounting for more than one-fifth of the federal budget. Created in 1935 by the Social Security Act, Social Security is a self-perpetuating trust fund with its own income. Every working person in the United States—except railway and some government employees, who have their own plans, and special types of workers who are not employed regularly—pays Social Security taxes. Social Security is financed by equal contributions from employer and employee. Each year, the system pays more than $300 billion in old-age and survivor benefits to more than 40 million retired people and their dependents and to survivors of workers who have died. The amount individuals receive is based on their average monthly earnings over a number of years while they were working.

In 1983, Social Security faced bankruptcy because of automatic cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs). During the 1970s, inflation rose dramatically, and COLAs outstripped the total amount being brought in by the taxes that financed Social Security. Faced with a shortage of funds, Congress passed a plan to refinance the system. Without this action, Social Security would have run out of money by the middle of 1983.

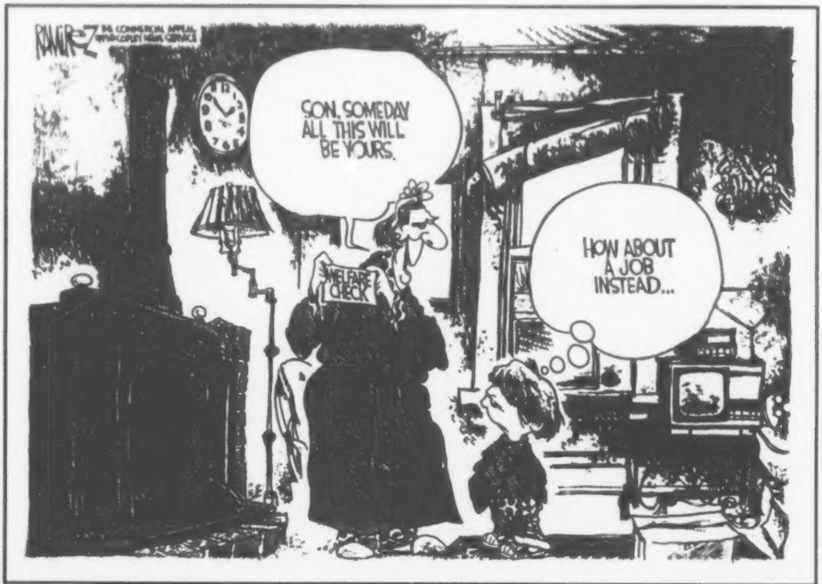
In 1993, the rising budget deficit again forced lawmakers to consider changing the Social Security program. Controversial options included freezing COLAs, increasing taxes on Social Security benefits, and asking that some wealthy recipients forgo their Social Security benefits. Congress passed a small tax increase on benefits for wealthier Social Security recipients. However, both Democratic and Republican leaders in Congress say they will not propose any additional changes to Social Security in the near future.

Current Issues

Reforming Welfare. Various social programs provide food, money, housing and jobs for many of the 36 million low-income Americans. About 14 million receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). AFDC is a more controversial program than, for example, food stamps or Medicaid because AFDC is a direct cash payment; recipients can spend the money on anything they want.

The welfare rolls in the United States are expanding. Critics of AFDC charge that it encourages illegitimate births and provides incentives for recipients to stay unemployed. How to reform the welfare system has become one of the most controversial issues in America. Democrats and Republicans alike have offered welfare reform plans. President Clinton has proposed requiring younger welfare recipients to enter a work program after two years and stopping benefits for parents who refuse to stay in school, look for work, or attend job-training programs. Republicans in Congress have offered a more ambitious plan that would hand much of the control of welfare programs over to the states. Under one Republican proposal, states would be given block grants—money which local governments could spend to reform their welfare system.

Although President Clinton's welfare proposal is not as far reaching as several plans offered in Congress, many Democrats and Republicans also favor implementing a two-year limit on giving welfare to able-bodied recipients. Critics argue that the current system actually provides cash incentives for recipients to stay unemployed and have more children. Because the AFDC program increases payments to an individual every time a recipient has a child, many Americans believe that welfare fosters illegitimate births. For example, if AFDC recipients marry or find a low-paying job, their benefits are drastically cut, but if they have more children, they receive more money. Many lawmakers believe that the two-year limit would give low-income parents the independence and dignity that come with work, and give their children the benefit of working parents as role models.


RAMIREZ
SON, SOMEDAY ALL THIS WILL BE YOURS.
WELFARE CHECK
HOW ABOUT A JOB INSTEAD...

M. Ramirez/Copley News Service

However, many experts are concerned that Congress may reform welfare without properly considering the consequences. Critics fear that many families would be denied welfare, and therefore would be unable to buy food, clothes, and medicine for their children. Also, some welfare parents may not be able to find a job because of high unemployment, not because they did not try. Opponents also argue that time-limited welfare would be expensive because welfare parents, once they find a job, need help paying for health insurance and transportation—costs not accounted for in most welfare reform plans being considered by Congress.

Help to the Working Poor. In 1994, 20 million low-income Americans—about 56 percent of those classified as living in poverty—either worked in a low-paying job or were supported by a worker who did not earn enough money to raise them above the federal poverty level of $14,764 annually for a family of four. Thus, the Clinton administration expanded the earned-income tax credit (EITC) to enhance the income of these families. The EITC is an income tax credit from the federal government given to families who earned less than $22,370 in 1994. Many lawmakers support the EITC because they believe it helps support the family and rewards work. And unlike welfare, the EITC is available only to people who work.

In 1994, the president proposed expanding the tax credit program to cover almost 2 million additional families at an added cost of $7.6 billion by 1996. When the expansions are fully implemented, a parent with two children may qualify for an EITC totalling more than $3,500. Lawmakers say that the EITC, combined with the current minimum wage of $4.25 per hour, increases the hourly wage to around $6.00 per hour.

How States Are Reforming Welfare

In the past, individual states were required to obey federal government guidelines on welfare. Local governments could not experiment with new approaches to welfare without specific permission from the president. That is all beginning to change. President Clinton recently waived federal requirements for twenty states implementing new programs. In Wisconsin, a welfare family receives only half the usual grant for a second-born child and none for the third. Governor Tommy Thompson says these new rules discourage recipients from having children to get benefits. New Jersey has adopted a similar plan. Utah now offers financial incentives for welfare parents to find and keep work.

Opponents of the current EITC say that although the plan is a good way to encourage work, it has weaknesses. They point to indications that some American men and women deliberately work long enough to obtain the maximum EITC benefits, but no longer. Experts also warn that the promise of an EITC could cause taxpayers to falsely report their earnings so they qualify for higher benefits. In addition, some lawmakers question whether the credit actually eases the poverty burden and inspires American men and women to get off the welfare rolls and seek better-paying jobs. They ask, does it encourage workers to earn just enough to qualify for the tax credit, but no more?

Department of Housing and Urban Development

In many inner-city neighborhoods, some people live on the streets or in temporary shelters. Many are unable to find affordable housing because they are unemployed, ill, addicted to alcohol or drugs, or suffering from mental illnesses.

Enterprise Zones. In December 1994, President Clinton announced that six urban and three rural communities will receive millions of dollars in federal grants and tax breaks in an effort to revitalize the economies in those regions. Enterprise zones are designed to improve the economy in these areas by combining some new spending, tax breaks for businesses, and a new emphasis on coordinating existing programs. This idea also calls for the creation of immediate incentives to bring new jobs to some of the country's most impoverished areas.

The plan eliminates the immediate high start-up costs of doing business such as paying some income, payroll, unemployment, sales, and health care taxes, thus making businesses profitable as soon as possible. These new businesses would need workers, so supporters of the plan say that the unemployment rate in these areas would decline and incomes would increase. The Clinton administration plans to spend $8.1 billion through 1999 to establish enterprise zones; $4.1 billion would come in the form of tax credits to businesses that hire workers from economically distressed areas.

Opponents of the enterprise zone plan say that the federal government should not allot so much money to a project that is doomed to fail. They argue that although people living in these areas need goods and services, they do not have the income to make new businesses profitable. If people do not financially support the businesses, the businesses will fail regardless of the tax incentives. Many who oppose this initiative believe that the money allotted for this program would be better spent on other social programs such as job training and child care.

Outlook

The Clinton administration and Congress are debating the best way to cut the costs of social programs while improving their efficiency but without unduly harming low-income Americans. Many members of both parties want to limit the time that AFDC recipients can receive benefits and require welfare parents to find jobs after two years. In addition, plans to reduce the effects of poverty include business incentives for economically depressed areas and a tax credit for the working poor. These new programs could increase the budget deficit, but many lawmakers agree that a change is needed. The challenge will be to control spending for social programs while providing incentives and training to help low-income American men and women work for a living and therefore contribute to the economy and the tax coffers.

The Debate

Poverty

The Government Should Limit Welfare Benefits to Two Years.

PRO

The government should require recipients to find jobs after two years or be removed from the welfare rolls. Welfare reform needs to reward work and discourage out-of-wedlock pregnancies. The current system rewards single motherhood and joblessness. A two-year limit would make recipients more productive by requiring them to get a job and would make parents more responsible in family planning.

CON

A two-year limit on welfare benefits will not ease poverty or reduce the budget deficit. Some welfare parents may need more time to learn job skills that will ensure that they will not return to welfare. In addition, some welfare parents may not be able to find a job because of economic conditions, not for a lack of trying. It is unfair to penalize those who earnestly try to better their families' lives.

The Government Should Offer Financial Assistance to the Working Poor.

PRO

The government should financially reward people who work to support families but do not earn enough income to rise above the poverty level. The earned-income tax credit (EITC) helps such people realize that working is more commendable than collecting welfare. Counting the financial benefits of the EITC, the average hourly wage would rise. Expanding the EITC would enhance the income of these families and reward work rather than welfare.

CON

Although the EITC may encourage work, it has weaknesses. Some American men and women deliberately work long enough to obtain the maximum EITC benefits, but no longer. Also, the promise of an EITC could cause some taxpayers to falsely report their earnings to qualify for a higher credit. It is questionable whether the credit actually eases poverty and inspires people to seek better-paying jobs over merely collecting welfare benefits.

The Government Should Establish Enterprise Zones in Impoverished Areas.

PRO

Establishing enterprise zones will improve the economy in areas where unemployment and poverty are high. Business incentives, such as the initial elimination of certain business taxes, would bring new jobs to some of the country's most impoverished areas. Under this plan, businesses would need workers, so the unemployment rate in these areas would go down. Such a plan would ensure business success and stimulate the local economy.

CON

The federal government should not fund enterprise zones. This is a project that is doomed to fail in low-income urban and rural areas. People living in these economically depressed communities do not have the money to make new businesses profitable. If people do not support the businesses, they will fail. Money allotted for this initiative would be better spent on other social programs such as job training and child care.

Health Care

In 1994, Americans spent more than $900 billion—14 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP)—on health care. Some analysts believe that by 2000, the United States' annual health care bill will soar to $1.6 trillion. Americans spend more on medical costs than do people in any other nation in the world.

Yet millions of Americans do not receive adequate health care. Many cannot afford private medical insurance but do not qualify for government programs such as Medicare and Medicaid. Even people who have insurance frequently discover that they cannot afford to pay the deductible (the amount of money patients must pay before their insurance coverage begins), so they do without medical treatment. Soaring medical costs and a growing number of uninsured Americans have contributed to what many believe is a health care crisis.

In 1994, President Bill Clinton and Congress set out to reform America's health care system—a daunting and politically explosive task. However, disagreements among lawmakers over how much of a role government should play and how to extend coverage to the uninsured without jeopardizing the quality of care derailed the health care reform effort. The new Republican-controlled 104th Congress said health care reform would be taken up in 1995, but that any legislation mandating a heavy government role was unacceptable. Experts expect lawmakers in Washington—aware that overhauling the system may make it worse—to take a more gradual, cautious approach to reforming health care.

Key Questions

- Should the federal government provide universal health care coverage?
- Should more Americans move to managed care health care plans?
- Should the government impose price controls on health care services?

Background

The Push for Universal Health Coverage. Many Americans believe that the government should ensure that everyone receives adequate health care. Others think that health care is a private responsibility. The debate over government-financed health care has been going on for more than seventy-five years.

In 1912, former President Theodore Roosevelt recommended that health insurance be provided for all Americans. In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt considered making national health insurance a part of Social Security—his new program to provide monetary assistance to older Americans. Roosevelt later dropped this idea because he was afraid that a health insurance plan might hurt the Social Security Act's chances for congressional approval. After World War II, national health insurance became an issue again. President Harry Truman believed that "financial means should not determine the quality and quantity of medical services a citizen receives." He advocated passage of a comprehensive federal insurance program, but Congress blocked his effort.

In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson introduced civil rights legislation and promoted social programs designed to eliminate poverty and help bring economic well-being to all Americans. Johnson called his plan the Great Society. The capstone of the Great Society was the introduction in 1965 of government-financed health care—Medicare and Medicaid. These programs serve the most vulnerable segments of society—older, disabled, and low-income Americans.

Medicare. Today, more than 36 million older Americans and people with disabilities receive

National Archives

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson (left) signed Medicare into law. Medicare and Medicaid provide low-income and older Americans with guaranteed health coverage. Looking on is former President Harry Truman (right), who was a staunch advocate of national health insurance during his administration.

assistance through Medicare. Medicare consists of two parts. The first helps pay for hospital nursing care. Each working person in the United States pays a special payroll tax to fund this hospital insurance. All retired recipients of Social Security, retired railroad workers, and persons with disabilities are entitled to Medicare coverage, although they must pay a certain amount, called a deductible, before Medicare will cover hospital expenses. Recipients may also have to make additional payments to their doctors or hospitals to help meet costs that Medicare does not pay. The second part of Medicare—supplemental medical insurance—covers 80 percent of doctors, fees, laboratory tests, and other medical expenses. Supplemental medical insurance is optional, and beneficiaries must pay a monthly premium to be eligible.

The Medicare Dilemma. The government will spend about $170 billion on Medicare in 1995—11.5 percent of total federal spending. Budget experts believe that the program will consume nearly $300 billion of the federal budget by 2000. Most members of Congress believe that the government cannot afford to continue increasing Medicare spending when spending for other programs is being cut to reduce the federal budget deficit.

Many members of Congress have made Medicare reform a top legislative priority. They believe reforming Medicare is essential to accomplish three related tasks: reducing the budget deficit, controlling health care costs, and ensuring that the program's funds do not run out. Some experts predict that if Medicare is not reformed, the next generation of retirees will have little or no Medicare benefits. Some lawmakers have proposed having wealthier recipients pay more for Medicare and limiting services to others.

Medicaid. The 104th Congress is also targeting Medicaid for cuts. Medicaid is a joint federal-state program that helps men and women with low incomes pay for health care. Although the federal government funds half of Medicaid, each state establishes its own eligibility requirements based on income and administers its own program. Medicaid pays for hospital care, long-term nursing care, doctors' fees, laboratory tests, and X-ray examinations. It also pays the fees and premiums for Medicare recipients who are near the poverty level. To keep their budgets in check, many states have cut Medicaid services, and some patients are discovering that Medicaid benefits do not cover all their medical bills. Still, many state budgets are overburdened by rising Medicaid costs. Some members of Congress propose that the federal government assume full control over Medicaid and limit its growth.

Rising Health Care Costs. Over the past twenty-five years, the cost of health care has increased much faster than has the overall rise in the cost of living. When Medicare and Medicaid were introduced in 1965, spending on medical services by the government, private insurers, and patients totaled about $41 billion, with the federal government providing $1.7 billion of the total. By 1993, health expenditures topped $903 billion. Some predict this figure will hit $1.6 trillion by 2000.

Most experts agree that three major developments have fueled the increase in health care costs: (1) the expansion of a system in which government and insurance companies, rather than patients, pay the medical bills; (2) the introduction of expensive new medical technologies; and (3) the rapid growth rate of the older American population.

Government and Insurance Payments. Some health care experts believe medical costs have risen because most health care services are paid by private insurance companies and the government rather than by patients themselves. Most insurers, including the government, cover 90 percent of patients' hospital costs and 80 percent of fees doctors charge. Most insurers also use an "after-the-fact, fee-for-service" payment policy. Under this system, hospitals and doctors submit bills directly to insurance companies and are reimbursed for most of their costs. This method of payment allows some doctors and

Nearly 37 million Americans are uninsured, meaning they must pay the full cost of health care services they receive. Various proposals seek to control costs, expand access to services, and guarantee health care regardless of a person's condition or employment.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

hospitals to charge high prices and to perform more services than may be necessary. Some doctors have even admitted to submitting bills for services that they did not provide. In general, patients have not been concerned about health care costs because they trust their doctors' judgment and because they know their insurance companies will pay the bills.

New Technologies. The development of new technologies has increased health care costs. Some medical equipment is extremely expensive and requires highly trained, well-paid operators. Often, several hospitals in one area will buy the same expensive equipment and offer the same services to attract more patients. The added costs of duplicated equipment and services are passed on to patients and their insurers.

Recent developments in medical technology have also made it possible to prolong life, adding significantly to overall health care costs. Today, organ transplants are commonplace, dialysis is available for kidney failures, respirators keep people breathing when their lungs fail, and machines assist diseased hearts. Doctors are trained to keep patients alive at all costs and to give them the best treatment possible, but these efforts sometimes cause severe financial strain for patients and their families.

America Grows Older. For the average citizen, health care costs rise with age. Each older American consumes four times as much in medical services as a younger adult and eight times as much as a child. Older Americans make up about 14 percent of the U.S. population, yet account for roughly 40 percent of the nation's medical bills.

The size of America's senior population will dramatically increase as the "baby boom" generation (those born between 1946 and 1961) begins to retire early next century. By 2040, some experts believe that older Americans will

American Red Cross

New medical techniques and technologies allow doctors to provide better care for patients. However, the staff and equipment required to provide such care are often very expensive, raising the cost of medical care for private insurers, government-funded health programs, and patients.

account for about 25 percent of the U.S. population. Consequently, America's health care bills will soar.

Malpractice. In recent years, liability insurance rates paid by doctors have increased sharply. Malpractice suits—brought by patients against doctors for improper care—are driving up insurance rates to a point where many doctors say they can no longer pay their premiums. Every year, doctors in the United States pay more than $9 billion for medical malpractice insurance.

To avoid malpractice suits, many doctors practice what is called defensive medicine. In other words, to defend themselves, doctors order numerous tests and laboratory exams to cover all possibilities. Such tests add greatly to health care costs. One study forecast that $36 billion could be saved over the next five years if health care providers stopped practicing defensive medicine. Many policy experts argue that limiting the size of judgment awards in malpractice suits must be part of health care reform.

Other Government Spending. In addition to Medicare and Medicaid programs, the U.S. government spends billions of dollars for other health-related problems, including disease prevention, research, training, and consumer health and safety. The federal government funds health research and training programs for doctors and nurses through the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; the National Institutes of Health; and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration. Government scientists carry out about 85 percent of all health-related research in the country to find new treatments for cancer, heart disease, diabetes, allergies, AIDS, and other diseases.

The AIDS Crisis. One disease receiving much attention from federally sponsored researchers is acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS).

In an effort to raise national consciousness about the human toll of AIDS, the NAMES Project Foundation sponsored the creation of a national quilt memorial. Each panel on the quilt is individually designed and sewn to represent one person who has died of AIDS. By April 1993, the quilt had more than 22,000 panels.

Marc Geller/The NAMES Project Foundation

There is no known cure for AIDS and no vaccine against the virus that causes it. However, experts say that knowledge about AIDS and appropriate preventative measures can slow its spread. Since the illness was first recognized in the early 1980s, more than 444,000 Americans have been diagnosed with AIDS, and approximately 250,000 have died from the disease. In 1994, AIDS became the leading cause of death among all Americans aged 25 to 44.

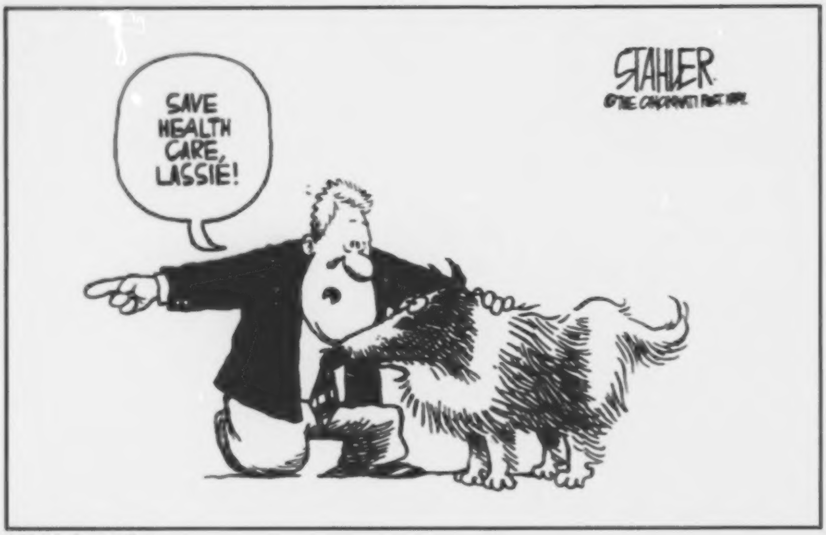
AIDS is caused by a virus called the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). HIV attacks the body's white blood cells. White blood cells are part of the body's immune system, which helps guard against infections. When these cells are damaged, the body cannot easily fight off disease. Thus, people with AIDS often die from illnesses that would not pose a threat to them if their immune systems were functioning properly. Care for each AIDS patient costs an average of $100,000.

While the disease has had its most devastating effects on the homosexual male population, recently the biggest increase in AIDS cases has occurred among women and heterosexual couples. People primarily catch AIDS through contact with blood or semen infected with HIV. The most common modes of transmission are unprotected sex and intravenous drug use with needles shared with others. Before health officials became aware of the AIDS threat, some people contracted virus through transfusions of donated blood. Since then, health providers have developed testing measures to make the blood supply safer and have set standards to prevent transmission between health care workers and patients. Some cities distribute free condoms, and other cities, such as New York, sponsor needle-exchange programs in which drug users can turn in used needles for clean ones.

Over the past two years, the federal government's role in the fight against AIDS has

Needle-Exchange Programs

In an attempt to slow the spread of AIDS among drug users, several U.S. cities, including New Haven, Connecticut; New York; and San Francisco have begun needle-exchange programs where addicts can trade dirty, possibly infected needles for sterile ones. Supporters argue that such programs save lives, but opponents have condemned needle exchanges as supporting drug use.



Jeff Stahler/Cincinnati Post

increased. Most of the federal funds earmarked for AIDS are spent on research to find a cure for or immunization against the deadly disease. Some research money is used to test drugs to see if they are safe and effective for AIDS patients. The government spends most of the remaining funds on health care services for AIDS patients, as well as education programs, television ads, and other major public information campaigns.

Current Issues

Universal Health Coverage. Should the U.S. government help provide health care for all its people? Many national leaders, including President Bill Clinton, believe it should. They say that health care is not a product, like a car or a television, but a necessity, and that the government should ensure that everyone receives adequate health care. In September 1993, President Clinton unveiled his ambitious health care reform proposal, called the Health Security Act. The plan aimed to control rising health care costs, but its primary goal was to extend health care coverage to all Americans. The president declared that every American would be provided with "Health Security" that could never be taken away.

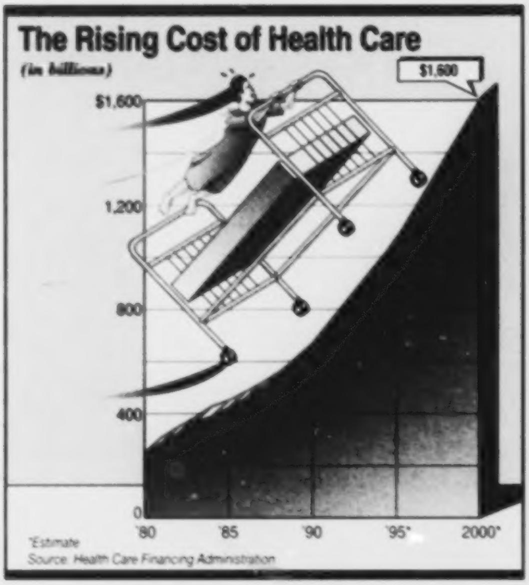
However, soon after it was submitted to Congress, the Health Security Act failed to win support from lawmakers or the American public. Critics called it overly bureaucratic and said it imposed government control over the U.S. health care system.

Despite the Clinton proposal's demise, most Americans believe that the country should continue to strive for universal health care coverage. Supporters of universal coverage point out that the United States and South Africa are the only industrialized nations in the world that do not guarantee their citizens' health care.

Opponents contend that the government cannot afford to provide the high quality of health care service to which many insured Americans are accustomed, and that in the case of some rare or elaborate procedures, services might even have to be rationed. Critics argue that any national insurance plan would inevitably lead to large and inefficient bureaucracies. In addition, many experts say that the health care system needs only to be reformed, not overhauled. They point out that almost 80 percent of the population presently is insured for hospital costs, which they believe makes dramatic action on health care unnecessary. In addition, many experts argue that most universal coverage plans would victimize those Americans—the overwhelming majority—who receive quality care under the current system.

Managed Care. Some lawmakers and health experts believe that managed care is the wave of the future in U.S. health care. Health maintenance organizations (HMOs) are the most common man-

The annual cost of health care in the United States has nearly doubled in the past decade. Some experts estimate that yearly health care costs will reach more than $1.6 trillion by 2000.



*Estimate
Source: Health Care Financing Administration

aged care plans. HMOs offer consumers a range of medical benefits for a set monthly fee. Managed care plans contain costs by monitoring health care professionals, requiring preauthorization for hospital visits, and limiting access to expensive medical specialists. Many experts attributed the drop in medical costs paid by employers in 1994 to the growing percentage of employees and their families who are enrolled in managed care plans. According to a survey of more than 2,000 employers, 63 percent of employees are enrolled in these plans—up from 52 percent in 1993.

Proponents of managed care argue that it offers the only solution to skyrocketing health care costs. While they concede that some managed care operators save money by denying or delaying proper medical care, supporters believe that better federal oversight of managed care plans and better information for potential enrollees could reduce this risk.

However, critics of managed care argue that plans like HMOs are more concerned with cutting costs by limiting treatment than they are about providing quality health care. Many Americans are nervous about enrolling in managed care plans because they are afraid their services would be cut and that they would surrender their freedom over choices of doctors and types of treatment. Opponents say older Americans would be the most adversely affected by managed care because their treatment is usually more expensive.

Controlling Health Care Costs. Many Americans are convinced that before the government considers providing all Americans with health care coverage, it must address the issue of skyrocketing costs. During the 1980s, health care costs increased at a rate of around 10 percent per year—far higher than the rate of inflation. Many economists warn that rising health care costs associated with programs such as Medicare and Medicaid will be the engine behind the growth of the budget deficit by the turn of the century. Many advocates of health care reform argue that it is cost, not availability, that has left many people without adequate health care coverage.

Some lawmakers believe that the federal government should impose price controls on fees for doctors, hospitals, and drugs to slow the growth of health care costs. Supporters of price controls on medical services argue that even today's health services market cannot be called completely "free." They point out that under the current system, Medicare and insurance companies determine prices. Supporters also contend that price restrictions would only be a temporary measure to rein in spiraling costs as reform is slowly being implemented. They say price freezes would allow services to be extended to a large percentage of Americans who are currently without access to health care. In addition, some experts say that the health care inflation has reached a crisis stage, justifying emergency measures such as price controls.

However, many Americans believe that the government has no place determining fees for medical services in a free-market economy. Critics say that price controls failed when they were implemented in the past. In 1971, President Richard Nixon attempted to curb general inflation with controls, but prices shot up dramatically once the freeze was lifted. President Jimmy Carter tried to control gas prices in 1979, a move many experts say produced very little except huge gas lines at gas pumps across the country. Many experts point out that Canada's attempt to limit doctors' fees has led to doctors adding new procedures at greater cost. Great Britain imposed controls on prices, but patients in that country sometimes have to wait months for some medical treatments.

Critics also argue that price controls on medical services would have little effect on long-term health costs and would result in less accessible care for thousands of men, women, and children. Many experts favor letting the market control the costs. They believe that health care costs can be contained by promoting competition among health care providers and frugality among patients. In addition, supporters of market-based reforms argue that increased competition, not price controls, would result in higher quality care.

Outlook

President Clinton's failure to persuade a Democratic-controlled Congress to approve his or any other reform proposal highlighted how complex and controversial the health care issue is. After spending 1993 and 1994 at the top of the federal government's legislative agenda, health care reform will likely take a backseat in the Republican-controlled 104th Congress. Republican leaders say that Congress might pass measures that will serve as "building blocks" to health care reform instead of the sweeping overhaul proposed by the Clinton administration in 1993. Many members of Congress believe that reforming Medicare should be a crucial component of any effort to control health care costs. Most experts hope that health care reform will be addressed in some manner by the president and Congress in 1995 and 1996. With medical costs projected to rise throughout the remainder of the decade and the number of uninsured Americans still high, lawmakers will likely find that the health care issue is not about to go away.

The Debate

Health Care

The Federal Government Should Provide Universal Health Care Coverage.

PRO	CON
The United States is one of the only industrialized countries that does not guarantee health care for all its citizens. It is a national disgrace that people in the United States spend more on health care than residents of any other nation, and yet 37 million Americans do not have adequate health insurance. The nation needs a plan that will extend universal coverage and contain costs—the two primary goals of the proposed health care reform plan. Achieving that goal should be a top national priority for lawmakers.	Guaranteeing health care coverage for all Americans is expensive and unnecessary. Almost 80 percent of the population is now covered by insurance, and the people who are not would be best served by more competition in the health care industry and selected government regulation. Proposed government plans are too complex and rely too much on government intervention. The United States should make smaller reforms to improve access to health care, without guaranteeing universal coverage.

More Americans Should Move to Managed Care Health Plans.

PRO	CON
As health care costs rise, managed care offers the best option for consumers. A growing number of Americans are joining managed care plans, such as health maintenance organizations. While these plans do limit patients' choice of doctors and cut back on specialized care, they negotiate lower fees and eliminate waste—producing large savings and making health care affordable for millions of Americans.	Managed care plans are more concerned with containing costs than with providing high-quality health care. These plans save money by limiting patient care, not by cutting waste and finding the most medically appropriate treatment. Older Americans in particular would be denied the specialized care they need. We should not sacrifice quality health care for Americans to bring down health care costs.

The Government Should Impose Price Controls on Health Care Services.

PRO	CON
Health care reform will be unsuccessful unless rising health care costs are reduced. Temporary price controls on medical services, such as doctor and hospital care and prescription drugs, would help curb health care inflation. By making services cheaper, health care providers would be able to accommodate millions of Americans who previously had little or no access to health care.	Price controls simply do not work and have no place in a free-market country. If a price freeze were imposed on medical services, prices would skyrocket again once controls were lifted. Other countries, such as Canada and Great Britain, have experimented with price controls on medical services. These controls resulted in a rationing of care and long waiting periods for some medical procedures.

Immigration

The United States was built by immigrants seeking a new life in a new land. Before 1882, the country was open to anyone, but as the population grew, the federal government decided to control immigration. The first immigration laws limited the number of newcomers from certain countries so that the ethnic makeup of the United States would be preserved. In 1965, the government passed new laws that not only limited the number of immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Africa, but also, for the first time, immigrants from countries in the Western Hemisphere. Many Latin Americans ignored the law and continued to come to the United States. In 1986, however, U.S. government officials, while offering amnesty to these aliens, decided to crack down on future illegal immigration.

Experts estimate that 15 million new immigrants will enter the United States during the 1990s. In 1994, around 20 million legal immigrants were living in the country, the most in U.S. history.

Illegal immigration is also on the upswing. Government officials believe that 4 million illegal immigrants currently live and work in the United States. The growing number of legal and illegal immigrants in the United States has triggered anti-immigration sentiment in many parts of the country, witnessed most recently in California with the approval of Proposition 187. The federal government's current immigration policy is under fire from states and citizens, leading experts to believe that immigration will be one of the most divisive and controversial issues of the decade.

Key Questions

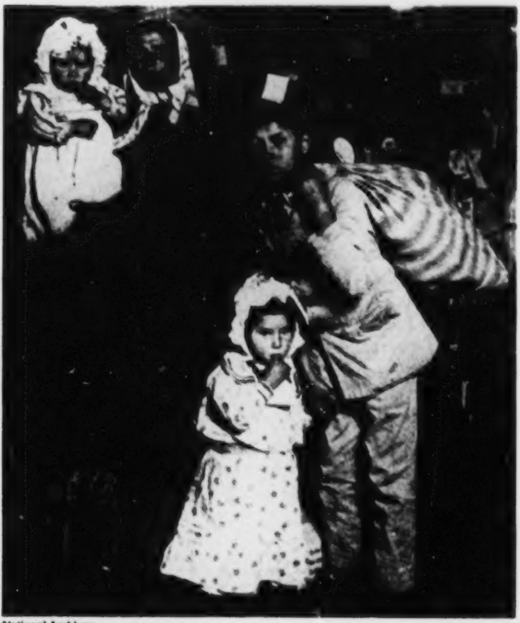
- Should the government deny social services to illegal immigrants?
- Should the government punish employers who hire illegal immigrants?
- Should economic refugees be admitted to the United States?

Background

U.S. Immigration Policy

Unlimited Immigration. The United States was founded and settled by immigrants. At first, the country was open to anyone wishing to make a new start. Many came to America to escape war, poverty, famine, or religious persecution. Others came seeking their fortune in a land where "the streets were paved with gold" (a myth spread in Europe by some steamship companies seeking passengers). And some were brought against their will to work as slaves. These and other factors resulted in a large-scale exodus of people from around the world to the United States.

Quotas. The first immigration laws were aimed at nonwhites. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act suspended immigration from China for sixty years.



From 1880 to 1920, more than 23 million immigrants—most of them from southern and eastern Europe—came to the United States seeking a new life. Here, a family from Italy arrives at Ellis Island in New York in the early twentieth century.

National Archives

In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated an informal "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan, under which the United States promised to desegregate California schools, which had separated Japanese students from others. In return, Japan promised to stop the influx of immigrants to California. By 1900, however, Americans were complaining about European immigration as well.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe crowded into U.S. cities. Some Americans viewed the newcomers as a threat to the rising standard of living because they would work long hours for little pay. In addition, the anticommunist mood after World War I made some U.S. citizens suspicious of anyone who seemed "foreign." Many believed that these new immigrants were racially and culturally inferior to people of northern and western European descent. Some thought that the new immigrants would be less able to learn English and be assimilated, or absorbed, into American culture. As a result, many U.S. citizens called for limits on further immigration.

Early immigration laws aimed to preserve the racial, religious, and ethnic composition of the United States at the time. A law passed by Congress in 1921 encouraged immigration from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia because natives of these lands seemed more likely to be assimilated. Meanwhile, the law discouraged immigration from eastern and southern Europe. The 1921 law limited annual immigration from any given country to no more than 3 percent of the number of people from that country living in the United States according to the 1910 census. Congress restricted immigration even further in 1924 by using the 1890 census as a benchmark instead of the 1910 census and by reducing percentages from each country to 2 percent.

In response to popular prejudices of the time, Congress passed the National Origins Act in 1929,

Citizenship Requirements

To become a citizen of the United States, a person must be legally admitted into the country for permanent residence and

- **be at least 18 years old;**
- **have lived in the United States for at least five years;**
- **be able to read, write, and speak English;**
- **demonstrate a knowledge of American history and government; and**
- **not belong to any organization that advocates the overthrow of the government by violence or the doctrines of communism.**

sharply limiting immigration by people of "less desirable" heritage. Of the annual quota of 150,000 immigrants, 70 percent were to come from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia; the remaining 30 percent were limited to countries in southern and eastern Europe.

Displaced Persons Act of 1948. World War II left millions of people around the world homeless. In his 1947 State of the Union address, President Harry Truman encouraged Congress to admit more immigrants. In 1948, Congress passed the Displaced Persons Act, which admitted some of the homeless people. However, the law was criticized because it required each immigrant to pass a security check and to have proof of employment and housing that would not threaten U.S. citizens' jobs and homes.

McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. In 1952, Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act, which revised the 1929 National Origins Act. The new law further tightened controls over aliens and immigrants by adding ideology to nationality as a criterion for admission to the United States. Passed partly because of the "Red Scare" of the 1950s, the McCarran-Walter Act sought to weed out people with even marginal communist backgrounds or sympathies.

Over the years, the McCarran-Walter Act was used to prevent many writers, artists, and politicians from coming into the United States because of their political views. Finally, in 1990, Congress made it illegal for the U.S. government to deny anyone entry into the country on the basis of beliefs, statements, or associations. Yet the secretary of state can still exclude people for ideological reasons if the government has a "compelling" foreign policy interest in keeping them out. For example, terrorists and others who threaten national security can be denied entry.

Close Up Foundation/Marcia Thompson

Since its beginning, the United States has symbolized freedom and opportunity to many of the world's peoples. Today, the ideal still lives. More than 85 percent of the nation's legal immigrants become U.S. citizens.

Immigration Act of 1965. The 1965 Immigration Act represented a major reform of all previous immigration laws. It abolished quotas that discriminated against nationalities, substituting an overall limit of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere. But the 1965 act also limited immigration from Western Hemisphere countries for the first time to 120,000 annually, thereby creating a serious illegal immigrant problem. To Latin Americans, the United States had long been a haven from the poverty and civil war of their homelands. Before 1965, thousands of jobs requiring cheap labor had been filled by Mexicans and Central Americans who needed only to apply for temporary or permanent visas to be admitted legally.

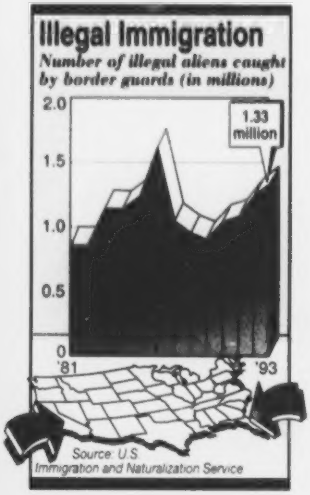
Immigration quotas allow some Latin Americans to enter the United States legally. But since the 1965 limitations were put in place, many more have come illegally, working in low-paying, unskilled jobs such as harvesting crops or cleaning office and apartment buildings.

Some say that Americans exploit illegal aliens. Because they lack legal status, illegal immigrants are often paid salaries below minimum wage. For years, they have been reluctant to complain about low wages or harsh working conditions because they feared that they would be fired or that their actions would be reported to immigration officials. But even when they earn below minimum wage, hard-working illegal aliens have often prospered in the United States, earning much more than they could in their own countries.

Refugee Act of 1980. Before 1980, only a special act of Congress could admit groups of refugees—most often individuals fleeing communism. For example, Congress passed special laws to admit 565,000 refugees who fled Southeast Asia after South Vietnam came under communist control in 1976. However, in 1980, lawmakers made a major change in immigration policy by passing the Refugee Act.

The Refugee Act of 1980 legally defined a refugee as someone who flees a country because of persecution "on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." The act authorizes the president, in consultation with Congress, to establish an annual ceiling on the number of refugees who may enter the United States. The act also allows the president to admit any group of refugees in an emergency.

Haitian Refugees. In recent years the number of people seeking safety in the United States has increased considerably. In a controversial move in 1981, President Ronald Reagan ordered that boats carrying Haitian refugees be intercepted and their occupants screened before granting them immigrant status. After the September 1991 overthrow of Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, nearly 40,000 Haitians tried to escape, many in unsafe boats. In 1992, President George Bush ordered that the boats be turned back without reviewing the cases of those aboard. The Bush



Although the number of illegal aliens apprehended by U.S. border patrols decreased from 1.6 million in 1986 to 850,000 in 1989, arrest rates began to increase in mid-1989, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. A report by the Center for Immigration Studies concluded that illegal immigration is increasing because of rapidly growing working-age populations in Central America, aliens' access to falsified immigration documents, and fewer agents patrolling the U.S.-Mexican border.

administration claimed that the Haitian "boat people" were not victims of political persecution and therefore were ineligible for asylum in the United States. However, an appeals court overturned Bush's order in July 1992, finding that the rights of Haitian refugees had been violated, and that future Haitians could be admitted as political refugees. Pending an appeal of the lower court's decision to the Supreme Court, the Clinton administration continued the Bush policy. In June 1993, the Supreme Court overturned the lower court and affirmed the administration's policy.

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 was designed to stop the flow of illegal immigration from Latin America by imposing sanctions against employers who hire illegal aliens. At the same time, the law gave illegal aliens who had been living in the United States since 1982 the opportunity to become legal citizens.

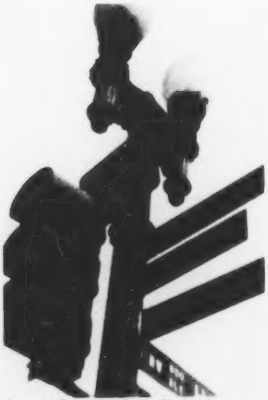
Employer Sanctions. Under the 1986 law, employers can be fined up to $10,000 for each illegal alien found working for them. Repeat offenders are subject to higher fines and possible imprisonment.

While many employers have been complying with this law, the number of illegal immigrants working in the United States has not decreased significantly. Ironically, employer compliance with this law has increased felonies of a different sort—the making of false identity cards. In response to the surge in availability of these fraudulent documents, investigators have sought out counterfeit operations, border patrols have been increased, and new counterfeit-resistant documents are being distributed to legal residents.

Amnesty for Illegal Aliens. For one year after the 1986 law went into effect, the government granted amnesty to illegal aliens who were able to prove they had lived continuously in the United

States since January 1, 1982. These illegal aliens could eventually become American citizens if they first sought temporary resident status from the government.

Despite the opportunity for many illegal immigrants to gain full citizenship, only about 1.8 million applications were filed during the one-year period. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) had predicted that 2 to 4 million illegal aliens would apply. One reason for the low turnout was that many illegal aliens could not provide the documents needed to prove they had been living in the United States since January 1982. Because most illegal aliens go to great lengths to conceal themselves from the law, proving eligibility for amnesty with rent receipts, Social Security cards, income tax forms, or letters verifying employment was difficult. In addition, many illegal aliens distrusted government officials.


Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Immigrants from East Asia have brought dramatic changes to many areas of the United States. In communities with large Asian populations, street signs written in Chinese characters are common.

Immigration Act of 1990. The Immigration Act of 1990 increased the number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States by nearly 40 percent. From 1992 to 1994 the United States opened its doors to 700,000 legal immigrants a year, an increase from the previous limit of 540,000. Currently, immigration is limited to 675,000 annually. The law also increased the number of visas for skilled immigrants, such as engineers and scientists.

Immigration Today

Anti-Immigration Movement. In recent years, many Americans have criticized U.S. immigration policy. This criticism is caused mostly by the high number of illegal immigrants that enter the country. In 1993, more than 900,000 legal immigrants and 300,000 illegal immigrants settled in the United States. Overall, the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that about 4 million illegal immigrants currently reside in the United

States. Both legal and illegal immigrants have contributed to dramatic changes in the United State's racial, ethnic, and cultural composition. A study by the Center for Immigration Studies concluded that the nation's foreign-born population is growing faster than the native-born American population.

Many Americans believe that the United States cannot absorb more immigrants. They contend that newcomers take jobs away from Americans—particularly minorities—because they enlarge the labor pool and are willing to work for lower wages.

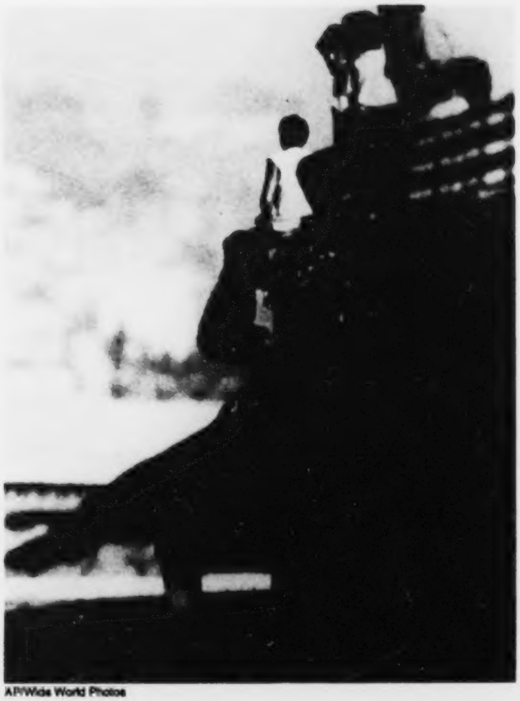
In addition, advocates of immigration restrictions point to the large cost in health and education benefits for illegal immigrants. Critics of restrictions argue that immigrants are important because they are willing to accept jobs that many native-born Americans will not. Moreover, these critics say, immigrants come to the United States with a diligent work ethic that increases the country's productivity and helps the economy. Many economists argue that, in general, immigrants help the economy far more than they harm it. For example, their demand for housing, food, clothing, and other goods generates investment and jobs that balance out any negative effect critics believe they cause.

Is America Still a Melting Pot? Some people argue that restrictions on immigration are necessary to maintain what they see as the national identity of the United States. The great increase in arrivals from developing countries, especially those in Latin America and Asia, has brought dramatic changes to some parts of the United States. According to the 1990 census, nearly 75 percent of the residents of Miami speak a language other than English at home. For New York City, that figure is 41 percent. In these cities as well as communities in the Southwest, Spanish is the language most commonly spoken by immigrants.

Noncitizens in U.S. Prisons

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has estimated that 250,000 foreign criminals could be deported from the United States because of illegal activity ranging from drug offenses to terrorist acts.

By 1994, 20,171 noncitizens were serving time in federal prisons. Nearly one out of every four federal inmates is not a U.S. citizen. Another 28,000 noncitizens are in state prisons. In 1993, the incarceration of noncitizens cost the federal government more than $400 million.



The Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that 4 million illegal immigrants currently live in the United States. Here, illegal Mexican immigrants leap from the border fence along the U.S.-Mexico border into the United States.

AP/Wide World Photos

Some English-speaking Americans resent the large number of Spanish-speaking people in their communities and fear a bilingual society that they say will splinter the country along cultural and racial lines. They believe that English is the language of the United States, and therefore immigrants should learn it and use it. Some states have recently passed laws declaring English to be their official language.

Others consider English-only arguments to be racist. They say that most immigrants want to learn English because it is necessary to get ahead in the United States. They believe that investing in teaching English to immigrants would benefit the country. Immigrants would then be more productive and less reliant on other, more costly social services.

Current Issues

Denying Benefits to Illegal Immigrants. States are required by federal law to provide schooling and emergency medical care to all immigrants, whether they are legal or illegal. California is home to more than 40 percent of the U.S. illegal immigrant population and has therefore spent a great deal of money providing services for these illegal aliens. In November 1994, voters in California approved a ballot initiative called "Save Our State," better known as Proposition 187. Proposition 187 denies nonemergency medical care and educational services to illegal immigrants and their children and requires health workers and educators to report suspected illegal immigrants to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

REPEAL
PROP. 187

AP/Wide World Photos

In 1994, California residents approved a measure called Proposition 187 that would cut off social services to illegal immigrants and their children. The proposal sparked a flurry of protests across the state. Some experts say Proposition 187 is unconstitutional and might be overturned by the courts.

Supporters of Proposition 187 argue that governments, by providing free services to undocumented immigrants, are actually encouraging people to enter the United States illegally. A recent study by the Urban Institute concluded that illegal immigrants cost California more than $1 billion in such services as health care and education, even after deducting the taxes they pay (roughly $730 million annually). Supporters of stripping illegal immigrants of social services argue that would-be illegal aliens will think twice before crossing the border once they realize that they will not get free medical care and education.

Although most Americans agree that illegal immigration is a problem, particularly in a state like California, many oppose denying social services to undocumented aliens and their children. Critics of Proposition 187 argue that the law will create an underclass of sickly, uneducated fugitives. Denying medical care to illegal immigrants, many Americans argue, will be disastrous for public health. In addition, many argue that the children of illegal aliens benefit from free education and social services and that to toss them out of the public school system will leave them on the street where they are likely to commit crimes. Opponents of Proposition 187 favor tighter border controls and other measures to curb illegal immigration—not Proposition 187.

Sanctions Against Employers Who Hire Illegal Aliens. Many employers oppose the provision in the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 that allows the government to fine them for hiring illegal immigrants. Employers contend that the law asks the business community to do the government's job by requiring companies to do background checks on everyone they hire. Some employers say that immigrants, even if illegal, are vital to the economy. They maintain that immigrants often take the low-paying jobs that others refuse. Critics of employer sanctions point to the recent boom in false identity cards as proof that illegal immigrants will find ways to work in the United States in spite of the law. Furthermore, some critics assert that the law results in discriminatory hiring practices because employers are sometimes reluctant to hire anyone who appears foreign.

However, proponents of employer sanctions argue that sanctions are necessary. They say that most illegal immigrants come to the United States because they know there is work for them when they cross the border. Supporters of employer sanctions argue that employers who are fined for hiring illegal immigrants will stop hiring them, and aliens will have no incentive to enter the country unlawfully. Moreover, proponents claim that the sanctions are working, pointing to decreased arrests at the U.S.-Mexican border since 1986.

Economic Refugees. Every year, thousands of people from around the world seek admission to the United States as refugees. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has ruled that, according to the 1980 Refugee Act, the majority of these immigrants are in fact not refugees and therefore not eligible for admission. The Refugee Act defines a refugee as someone who is fleeing political or religious persecution, not economic conditions. The government fears that if the United States were to admit economic refugees, the country would soon be overburdened by disadvantaged people from around the world.

Critics of the INS policy believe that the United States should broaden its definition of "refugee" to include persons trying to escape severe poverty. Those who favor a broader definition argue that many of the people who immigrated to the United States a century ago were in fact economic refugees. They say that it is unfair to grant refugee status to people who fear their lives are in danger because of their political views and then to deny admission to those whose lives are in danger because of severe poverty.

Outlook

The furor over California's Proposition 187 magnified how controversial immigration has become in the United States. Americans who favor tighter immigration restrictions argue that immigrants take jobs away from Americans, drain social services, and resist learning English. Others, however, say that immigration should not be restricted because immigrants work hard, often at jobs many others turn down. They claim that similar to yesterday's immigrants, today's newcomers are usually determined to become successful members of U.S. society. The question of whether America's doors should be open or closed continues to be intensely debated in Congress, in the White House, and in states and communities where immigrants tend to settle.

The Debate

Immigration

The Government Should Deny Social Services to Illegal Immigrants.

PRO

Many people enter the United States illegally because they know they will receive free medical and education services. Immigrants' demands for public education and social services place an unfair burden on U.S. taxpayers. The government should not encourage the entry of aliens who drain social services and take jobs away from Americans and legal immigrants. By denying undocumented immigrants these benefits, the government would remove these incentives, therefore reducing illegal immigration.

CON

Taking away social services from illegal immigrants would create a underclass of uneducated and sickly people who would likely resort to crime. Educating the children of illegal immigrants would help turn them into productive Americans. Medical services improve not just the health of the aliens but also of the cities and states where they reside. The burden of undocumented immigrants on state budgets has been exaggerated by people who are motivated more by racism than by fiscal concerns.

The Government Should Punish Employers Who Hire Illegal Immigrants.

PRO

Punishing employers who hire illegal immigrants is the best way to stop illegal immigration. Illegal immigrants come because they know there is work for them. Employers who know that they would be punished for hiring illegal aliens would probably not hire them. Because fewer jobs would be available to illegal immigrants, they would stop coming to the United States.

CON

Punishing employers who hire illegal immigrants hurts many minorities in the United States. Employers may be reluctant to hire "foreign-looking" or "foreign-sounding" people—even those who are legal aliens or citizens—for fear they might be living in the country illegally. Furthermore, the business community should not have to do the government's dirty work.

Economic Refugees Should Be Admitted to the United States.

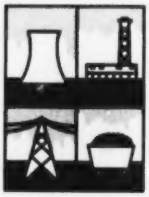
PRO

The U.S. government assigns refugee status to people who might be imprisoned in their own countries for their beliefs. Yet the government denies refugee status to people suffering from severe poverty. The United States has always offered people the opportunity to help themselves. Therefore, the government should allow economic refugees to settle here.

CON

If the United States opened its doors to economic refugees, the nation would be flooded by the world's less fortunate. The country has neither the resources nor the jobs to provide for all these people, especially when unemployment in the United States is already high. The result would be merely to import more poverty and further stress our social programs.

Energy



The United States runs on energy. The nation needs vast amounts of energy to fuel its cars, power its factories, heat its homes, and light its office buildings. Oil—America's major energy source—is running out. In fact, some experts predict that the world's oil supplies could be exhausted in twenty-five years.

In the 1970s, oil-exporting countries in the Middle East sharply reduced world petroleum supplies, causing prices to skyrocket and creating an energy crisis. The U.S. government responded by passing laws to conserve fuel and to develop alternatives to oil. Government action resulted in more fuel efficient cars, lower speed limits, and better-insulated homes.

By 1990, the price of oil had dropped, and the energy crisis of the 1970s was only a memory. As a result, the government reversed many of its actions to increase fuel efficiency and develop and promote alternative sources of energy. However, the Persian Gulf War in 1991 was a firm reminder of America's dependency on foreign sources of energy. The United States currently imports more than 50 percent of its oil; by 2000, up to 70 percent may come from foreign sources.

Some Americans wonder if oil supplies will run out before the United States has developed energy alternatives. Who should supply the research and the money to develop these alternatives? Should the government get involved, or should the energy industry make these decisions?

Key Questions

- Should the federal government raise the energy taxes that certain industries must pay?
- Should fuel efficiency standards be raised?
- Should the United States build more nuclear power plants?

Background

Energy Sources

Energy Means Growth. The United States depends on energy to produce economic growth and income. Energy transports people and materials, powers machines, and enables communication. Plentiful energy also improves the quality of life for everyone. Americans are the world's greatest consumers of energy. Although they make up only 5 percent of the world's population, people in the United States consume more than 20 percent of the energy used worldwide every year.

History of Energy Supplies. Large supplies of inexpensive domestic energy resources have helped spur economic growth throughout U.S. history. Until the twentieth century, the major sources of energy were renewable. For example, burning wood heated homes, rivers powered New England textile factories, and windmills pumped water on midwestern farms. After 1900, however, demand for energy increased, and Americans were forced to rely on nonrenewable fossil fuels—oil, coal, and natural gas—as their main sources of energy. Coal soon surpassed wood as the nation's primary fuel source.

Oil Becomes King. After World War II, American lifestyles and energy needs changed. Suburban development, construction of big homes, and the nation's growing love affair with the automobile made oil the number one source of energy in the United States by 1950. Oil was cheap and plentiful, and the supply seemed endless. As energy needs increased in the 1960s and 1970s, the United States began to import more oil. By 1973, oil provided nearly half the energy consumed in the United States; 36 percent of this oil came from foreign countries.

Library of Congress

The Arab oil embargo of 1973 had a tremendous effect on life in the United States. People waited in line for hours to buy gasoline, and many parts of the country experienced severe shortages.

The Arab Oil Embargo. In an effort to increase the price of oil on the world market, thirteen nations formed a trade cartel in 1960—the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). At that time, OPEC members controlled more than half the world's oil reserves. In 1973, OPEC's Arab members cut off oil shipments to the United States because the U.S. government had supported Israel in a war with Israel's Arab neighbors, Syria and Egypt. At the same time, Arab oil exporters drastically cut production and unilaterally announced sharp increases in the price of crude oil. From October to December 1973, the price of crude oil rose from $3 to more than $11 a barrel. The Arab oil embargo created tremendous fuel shortages around the world and was the primary cause of the 1974/75 economic recession.

Alternative Energy Sources. OPEC announced the end of the oil embargo in March 1974, but its effect on U.S. energy consumption was dramatic. Nearly two generations of Americans had built an entire lifestyle around the availability of cheap oil. Now they had to develop alternatives.

Electric Cars

California's law requiring some zero emissions vehicles by 1998 has the nation's largest car makers scrambling to produce battery-powered cars that will win over new car buyers. Critics say that the power to recharge car batteries will come from power plants that burn coal. Thus, critics contend that electric cars will also contribute to air pollution. Nevertheless, other regions are also considering similar emissions requirements, increasing the demand and providing incentives for car manufacturers to deliver viable alternatives to gasoline-powered vehicles.

Nuclear Energy. During the 1950s and 1960s, nuclear power was promoted as the energy source of the future. Although nuclear energy was never expected to fuel automobiles or trucks, experts did predict that it would generate around 50 percent of the nation's electricity by 2000. However, nuclear energy is unlikely to meet the expectations once imagined. Some analysts predict that up to one-fourth of nuclear power plants in the United States will close in the next ten years because of the increasing costs of maintaining the facilities and storing nuclear waste. Nuclear power plants are also expensive to build. In December 1994, the Tennessee Valley Authority announced it would stop construction on three of the nation's four unfinished nuclear power plants. While some say these cancellations signal the end of the nuclear power industry in the United States, nuclear power advocates contend that emerging technology will allow utilities to build a new generation of nuclear power plants faster and less expensively in the future.

Coal. Many analysts say that the energy needs of the United States can be met by using more coal. They point out that U.S. coal reserves are plentiful and can provide adequate electric power for more than 200 years. However, coal does have drawbacks. Coal use is a major contributor to air pollution and acid rain, and coal strip-mining scars thousands of acres of land every year.

Synthetic Fuels. Synthetic fuels are oil or gas substitutes made from either oil shale or coal and processed into liquid or gaseous form. During the 1970s, many experts thought synthetic fuels would be the solution to the energy crisis. Increased research, however, showed that production of synthetic fuels is costly, requires large amounts of water, and could cause severe environmental problems.

Renewable Energy Sources. Renewable—or inexhaustible—energy sources include wind, water, and solar power. These alternative sources of energy are nonpolluting, and supplies will never run out. During the energy crisis of the late 1970s, many homeowners installed solar-powered water heaters, and some local utility companies in western states used windmills to produce small amounts of electricity. The cost of installing large solar or wind energy systems has traditionally been high and thus impractical for large industries and communities. However, new technological breakthroughs in wind turbine machinery have reduced the cost and increased the efficiency of wind power. Energy companies in California, Iowa, Minnesota, New York, and Vermont are experimenting with this new machinery and have reported encouraging results. Some experts predict that by 2010, wind power will be competing with other energy sources.

Methane and Natural Gas. The use of methane, a clean-burning, environmentally acceptable fuel, has increased in recent years. Methane can be made from coal, peat, garbage and sewage, and plant material such as grass clippings. Since methane comes from renewable sources, its proponents say that future generations will always have this source available. Today some industries use methane for manufacturing because it is cost-effective and environmentally safe. However, recent explosions involving methane make some industry officials wary of using it.

Natural gas, a type of methane commonly found near underground petroleum deposits, is used in many homes for heat and appliances and can be burned in cars. Since natural gas must be transported by pipelines, an expensive nationwide delivery system would have to be developed. Although natural gas is inexpensive and environmentally safe, it will likely be years before a more extensive delivery system is constructed.

Department of Energy

Because the energy industry has to comply with the tighter air pollution standards set forth by the Clean Air Act by 2000, utility companies have been improving the technology of clean, renewable energy sources such as wind power. For example, a power company in Livermore, California, began using improved wind turbines and can now produce electricity for about the same cost as with natural gas.

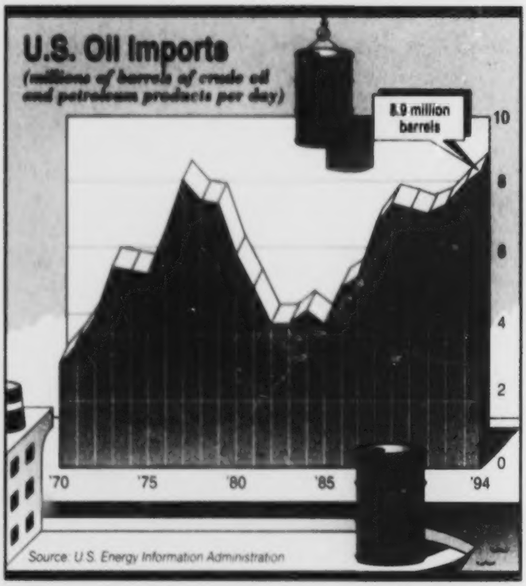
U.S. Energy Policy

Wasteful Consumption. In the 1950s and 1960s, the prices of oil and gasoline were low, and supplies were plentiful. Energy consumption increased rapidly. The nation's energy policy could be summed up in one sentence: Use as much as you want; pay as little as possible.

Nixon's Energy Policies. The Arab oil embargo in 1973 forced Americans to realize how much they depended on foreign oil. President Richard Nixon proposed an energy plan that would make the United States self-sufficient. Conservation and development of domestic energy sources became primary goals. Nixon promoted developing Alaskan oil fields and constructing an oil pipeline across the state. His conservation programs included lowering the speed limit to fifty-five miles per hour (later raised to sixty-five on interstate highways), year-round daylight saving time (later repealed by Congress), and new laws to make automobiles more fuel-efficient.

Return to Wasteful Habits. After the Arab oil embargo, OPEC kept prices high by limiting production. However, price increases slowed with the introduction of oil from Alaska and the North Sea near Great Britain. Crude oil prices leveled off and even went down, and consumers began returning to their old energy consumption habits. Total U.S. energy consumption grew almost 11 percent between 1975 and 1978.

Carter's Plan. In April 1977, President Jimmy Carter proposed an energy plan to cut U.S. demand for oil. His program included establishing the Department of Energy, lifting price controls on natural gas, and strengthening conservation efforts. In 1979, world oil supplies fell and oil prices doubled after a revolution in Iran—then a major sup-



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

The United States imports about half its oil, much of it from the Middle East. Some experts say that relying so much on foreign oil is dangerous, pointing to the sharp increase in gasoline prices that occurred when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990.

plier of oil. After this second energy crisis, Congress passed several of President Carter's measures to reduce oil consumption and bring the United States closer to energy independence.

The Oil Glut. In 1981, oil prices peaked at $39 a barrel, but as supplies increased, prices fell. By late 1994, oil was about $16 a barrel. The price decline was due primarily to a surplus of the supply of oil—a "glut"—on the market relative to the demand for oil. Increased production by non-OPEC countries supplemented world supplies. Prices declined because some smaller OPEC nations undercut the official OPEC price to keep their export sales up so they could pay for their economic development. Industrialized countries have also reduced their need for oil by improving energy conservation programs and by substituting other energy sources for oil.

Reagan's Energy Program. President Ronald Reagan believed that the best way to produce more energy was for the government to stay out of the energy business. He wanted to let the marketplace decide what energy resources it wanted and when to develop new technologies, such as solar energy and synthetic fuels. With oil prices falling and oil reserves increasing, most members of Congress agreed with President Reagan.

Bush's Strategy. The 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait threatened to throw the world oil market into chaos. The United Nations enacted a trade embargo against Iraq and Kuwait so that Iraq could not sell the 4.3 million barrels of oil that the two nations had been producing each day. Crude oil prices shot up immediately because world buyers anticipated an oil shortage. Although the United States drove Iraq from Kuwait during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the episode exposed once again U.S. reliance on foreign energy sources.

In 1991, President George Bush announced an energy strategy to reduce U.S. vulnerability to oil shortages by buying oil from many suppliers, improving the nation's ability to switch to other fuels, and raising energy efficiency. Bush also called for increasing domestic production of energy by drilling for oil along the nation's continental shelves, and speeding up the construction of nuclear power plants and natural gas pipelines.

In 1992, the House and Senate passed legislation to restructure the nation's electric utility industry, encourage the production and consumption of natural gas, and make it easier to build nuclear power plants.

Clinton's Plan. One of President Clinton's top energy goals is to reduce America's dependence on foreign oil imports. In August 1993, Congress approved his 4.3 cents-per-gallon federal gasoline tax increase. This increase in gasoline tax is

Cold War Radiation Tests Revealed

In 1993, the Clinton administration revealed information about government involvement in radiation tolerance experiments conducted on Americans in the 1940s and 1950s. President Clinton promised a full investigation by several government agencies. By February 1994, the Department of Energy had received calls from more than 10,000 people who believe they were subjects of such tests without their knowledge or consent. Some callers were victims of radiation fallout, and some were researchers. Others were subjects of direct radiation experiments on the human body—including boys in a school for the mentally disabled who were fed radiation-contaminated food.

expected to reap $72.8 billion in new revenue over five years, which will go toward reducing the budget deficit. Many believe that the tax increase may also encourage conservation in fuel consumption, hence reducing the demand for foreign oil. In addition, the Clinton administration plans to encourage private companies and government agencies to convert their fleet vehicles to run on natural gas, electricity, or ethanol—a fuel made from grain. By creating a demand for cars, buses, trucks, and vans fueled by alternative energy sources, Clinton's energy team believes that car manufacturers will improve technology, reduce the cost of making and buying such vehicles, and profit from a new venture that they otherwise might not pursue.

Current Issues

Energy Taxes. Some government leaders and environmentalists have suggested a comprehensive energy tax on corporations to raise revenue while promoting energy conservation and protecting the environment. The tax, based on heat output measured in British thermal units (Btu) of various fossil fuels such as coal, oil, and natural

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

In large metropolitan areas where driving to work can be long and frustrating, many people opt to use public transportation. Public transportation reduces the number of cars on the road and helps conserve energy. On an average day in Washington, D.C., subway trains transport about 250,000 people around the metropolitan area.

gas, would be paid by industries that use large amounts of energy. A Btu tax was part of Clinton's 1993 deficit reduction plan, but it was taken out of the final package.

Opponents say that this tax would be unfair because it would hit energy-intensive industries—such as steel manufacturers—harder than others. Currently, corporations and industries are exempt from certain taxes, which helps them build profits. Opponents of the Btu tax argue that if the tax were enacted, the industries would pass the tax on to consumers in higher prices instead of using less energy. Proponents of the energy tax say that the only way to ensure better environmental and energy-wise practices is to enforce higher taxes for those who use the most energy. In addition, the expected $71.4 billion that this tax would generate would help reduce the federal deficit.

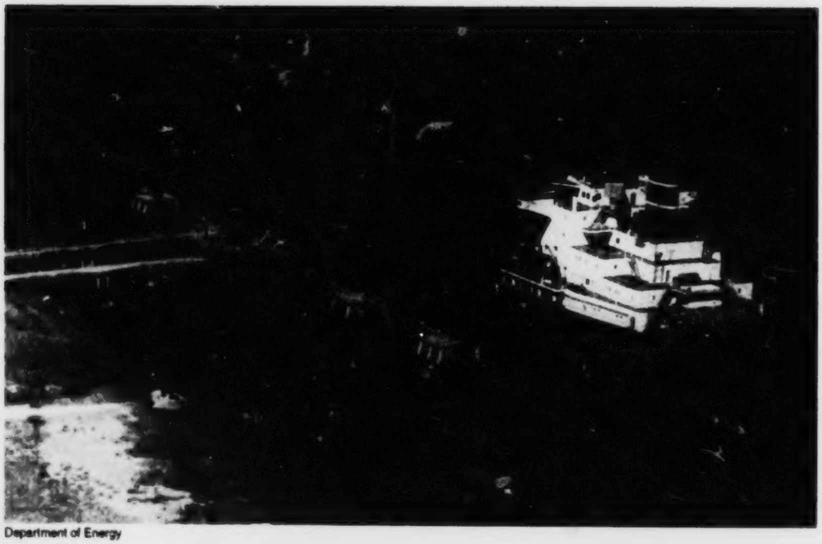
Is OPEC Old News?

After the Persian Gulf War in 1991, six Gulf states that benefited either directly or indirectly from the allied efforts against Iraq formed a smaller, friendlier cartel: the Gulf Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (GOPEC). GOPEC includes Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Four of these six countries together produce more than 51 percent of the total OPEC output; therefore, the effects of their actions could be immediate.

Fuel Efficiency Standards. Many Americans believe that energy conservation cannot be achieved without better automobile fuel efficiency. In 1971, the average new American car traveled 13 miles on a gallon of gasoline. Today, average fuel efficiency is up to about 27 miles per gallon. Energy experts generally agree that this is a considerable improvement, but they also insist greater fuel efficiency is necessary.

Many lawmakers have proposed that automobile makers raise the fuel efficiency of their cars—the corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard—above the current requirement of 27.5 miles per gallon. Proponents of higher CAFE standards argue that higher fuel efficiency reduces environmental damage by cutting toxic emissions and reduces dependence on foreign oil.

Opponents of higher CAFE standards say that passing stricter fuel efficiency requirements would compromise vehicle safety. Automobile manufacturers contend that to be more fuel efficient, the cars would have to be smaller and lighter and there-



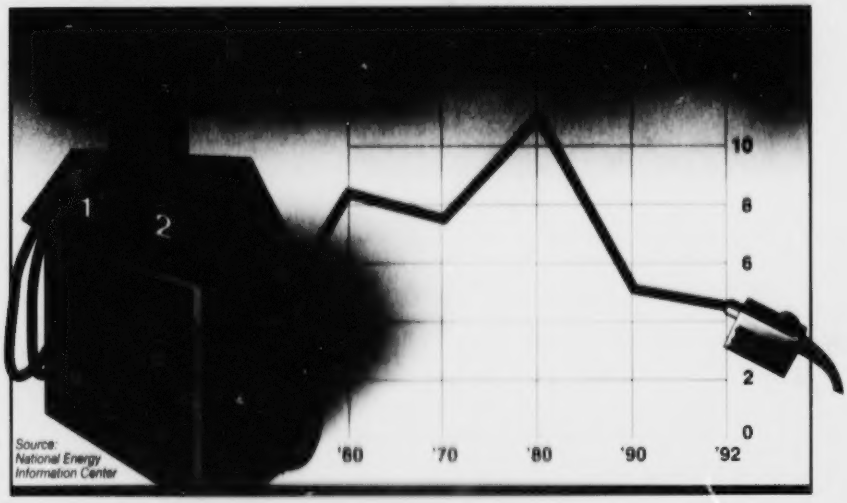
Department of Energy

Oil tankers like the one pictured here are bringing increasing amounts of foreign oil into the United States. In July 1994, petroleum imports surged to more than 10 million barrels per day and broke a 1977 record. Since 1977, cars have become more energy efficient, but U.S. oil production has declined.

fore would be more dangerous in a collision. Supporters of higher CAFE standards respond that technological improvements, not necessarily weight reduction, can raise a car's mileage. Opponents also argue that strict CAFE standards would lock American car companies out of the full-sized and luxury car market, causing job layoffs in the automobile industry.

Nuclear Energy. Most energy experts predict that sometime during the next decade the United States will fail to produce enough electricity to meet domestic demands. The nuclear power industry has urged that additional nuclear reactors be built to meet the needs of energy consumers. In addition, industry officials believe that using nuclear power instead of coal will help the United States meet new international agreements to reduce air pollution.

However, opponents of nuclear energy say that nuclear power is more expensive per kilowatt hour than other energy sources and is, therefore, not competitive. Moreover, they argue that reactors



Source:
National Energy
Information Center

Since 1960, auto manufacturers have increased fuel efficiency. Thus, consumers now spend about half as much on gasoline per mile traveled than they did in 1960.

and the disposal methods of nuclear waste are unsafe. Critics of nuclear energy fear that a serious accident—a meltdown of the fuel rods, a rupture of the reactor vessel, a release of radioactive gases into the air, or a leak in radioactive waste storage containers underground—could kill thousands of people and damage the surrounding area for centuries. Critics of nuclear power contend that these environmental hazards outweigh the industry's clean-air rationale.

The nuclear power industry counters by stating that nuclear power plants have many automatic safety devices. Therefore, an accident is unlikely. Nuclear energy officials note that during more than 1,200 plant-years of operating experience, not one person has died from a nuclear accident in a nuclear power plant in the United States—not even at the 1979 Three Mile Island accident in Pennsylvania. Proponents of nuclear power also argue that other energy sources are more harmful than nuclear power. For example, people are injured or killed each year in mining accidents and oil tank explosions, and many coal miners have died of "black lung" disease. Finally, supporters of nuclear power claim that although nuclear power plants are currently expensive to build and maintain, new procedures and technology will enable utility companies to provide electricity from nuclear power less expensively, thus more competitively, in the future.

Outlook

Most Americans agree that diminishing oil supplies are a problem. They suggest that U.S. companies or the government should develop or improve alternative energy sources before it is too late. Some want to add taxes on energy costs to conserve supplies and also to raise revenues. One debate centers on who should dictate the energy policies of the United States. Should the government increase energy prices to reduce consumption and fund research to develop alternatives to oil, or should the nation rely on the free market to determine which energy sources are most efficient?

The Debate

Energy

The Federal Government Should Raise the Energy Taxes that Certain Industries Must Pay.

PRO

The government should raise energy taxes high enough to encourage certain industries to conserve energy. Such industries now pay lower energy taxes than many other businesses. Higher energy taxes would help the environment by causing these companies to find more fuel efficient ways to manufacture goods. Plus, revenue from higher energy taxes would help reduce the federal budget deficit.

CON

Certain industries are given tax breaks to ensure that they can be profitable. Tax breaks allow such industries to hire more workers and keep production costs down. A high energy tax would not guarantee energy conservation and would likely result in higher prices for consumers. This burden should not fall on the Americans who need the goods and services these industries produce.

Fuel Efficiency Standards Should Be Raised.

PRO

To conserve energy, the United States must build automobiles that are more fuel efficient. Raising the corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard from 27.5 miles per gallon to 35 or 40 miles per gallon would dramatically cut down fuel consumption and reduce pollution and toxic emissions. After CAFE requirements were introduced in 1975, American cars more than doubled their fuel efficiency from 13 miles per gallon to 27.5 by 1990.

CON

Making automobile manufacturers build more fuel efficient cars would sacrifice consumer safety and jobs. Fuel efficiency improvements would require making cars lighter or smaller, which would also make them more susceptible to major damage in a collision. A higher CAFE standard would also lock American auto companies out of the full-sized and luxury car market, which would result in thousands of job layoffs.

The United States Should Build More Nuclear Power Plants.

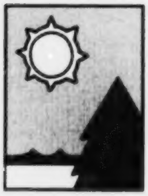
PRO

The country could find itself short of electricity before the turn of the century. Nuclear power plants can fill that demand best. Nuclear energy is safe and clean. It does not pollute the air, and no one has ever been killed in a nuclear accident in the United States. Although building and maintaining nuclear power plants have been expensive in the past, new procedures and technology will make nuclear power more competitive with other energy sources.

CON

Nuclear power presents three problems. First, nuclear reactors are very expensive to build and maintain. Second, nuclear reactors are very complicated; a combination of breakdowns could occur and overwhelm a reactor's safety features. Third, nuclear waste is dangerous when being transported to burial sites and stored underground. Such wastes could leak into the ground water. These are risks the nation cannot afford to take.

Environment



In the 1960s and 1970s, many Americans became concerned that pollution was causing health problems, killing fish and wildlife, and making U.S. cities unlivable. Congress responded by passing laws to clean up polluted lakes and rivers, save some animal species, and improve air quality.

In the 1980s, new environmental problems emerged. Scientists discovered that pollution in one country could affect the environment in neighboring countries and around the world. Some experts warned that carbon dioxide released from factory smokestacks and cars was causing Earth's temperature to rise. This "greenhouse effect" could cause coastal flooding, drought, and unusual climate patterns. Scientists also discovered that certain chemicals were destroying Earth's protective ozone layer. In 1990, Congress passed the landmark Clean Air Act.

However, over the past few years, the environmental movement has suffered setbacks. Economic concerns have taken priority over environmental concerns; some scientists have questioned the existence of the "greenhouse effect"; and Congress is considering scaling back existing environmental regulations. Although most Americans generally favor protecting their air and water, many believe that doing so comes at the expense of economic growth and job creation. In 1995 and 1996, advocates for the environment face an uphill struggle in persuading Congress not to roll back some existing regulations.

Key Questions

- Should environmental regulations be eased?
- Should polluters pay for toxic waste cleanup?
- Should communities make recycling mandatory?

Background

The Environmental Movement

Early Conservationists. The environmental movement in the United States began in the 1890s with the rise of industrial production in the cities and the end of westward expansion. Because they had reached the Pacific Ocean, Americans could no longer escape industrialization by simply moving west. The pioneering environmentalists were conservationists who worried that industry would spread from the cities and eventually destroy the remaining wilderness. They began to urge the government to preserve forests, create parklands, and protect wilderness areas from business exploitation. In the 1890s, the Sierra Club and Audubon Society were founded to protect forests and to save animals from extinction. Both are now nationwide organizations.

Prior to the passage of clean air legislation in 1970, air pollution was a growing problem in major U.S. cities—as seen in this view of pollution hanging over New York City.

National Archives

Modern U.S. Environmentalism. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the United States experienced a major wave of interest in the environment. Rachel Carson's 1962 book, *Silent Spring*, helped start the movement by calling attention to the effects of years of neglect on the nation's ecology. Americans also grew more interested in environmental cleanup as they witnessed the damaging effects of offshore oil spills and dying lakes and streams. Some saw the environmental movement, like the civil rights movement, as an effort to build a more just society. In 1970, 20 million Americans gathered at Earth Day rallies, marches, and teach-ins to promote ecology. Such public pressure led to passage of many environmental laws during the 1970s.

National Archives

The environmental movement gathered momentum in the early 1970s as many Americans became increasingly concerned about the damaging effects of air and water pollution.

The Global Environment. By the 1980s, advocates for the environment believed that such problems as pollution, ozone layer depletion, and global warming demanded international solutions. This was confirmed by the 1986 fire at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine, which released radiation that contaminated water and livestock in large areas of Europe. Agreeing to reduce pollution at home to help protect the earth's environment, several nations proposed treaties in the 1980s. In a new wave of environmentalism, many nations in 1990 celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the first Earth Day.

In 1992, representatives from 178 nations met at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED)—the Earth Summit—in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The delegates negotiated treaties and agreements to reduce global warming, preserve forests, limit ocean pollution, and conserve Earth's great variety of plant and animal species—its biodiversity. The conference was deemed a significant step toward international cooperation to protect the environment.

Dangers to the Environment

Global Warming. During the last 100 years, the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen dramatically, causing what some call a "greenhouse effect." Many scientists believe that a layer of carbon dioxide and other gases traps the sun's heat, like glass in a greenhouse, thereby raising the temperature of Earth's atmosphere and perhaps leading to serious environmental problems.

According to scientists at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), temperatures just a few degrees higher than normal would partially melt polar ice caps and flood coastal areas, turn productive farmland into desert, and alter weather patterns around the world. Some experts predict that world temperatures could increase three to eight degrees Fahrenheit by the middle of the next century.

The decade of the 1980s was the warmest on record. In 1992 and 1993, temperature around the globe cooled off slightly, causing some to doubt the existence of global warming. However, global temperatures rebounded in 1994. While most scientists do not dispute that Earth's atmosphere is getting warmer, they disagree on what the causes are, how warm the planet will eventually get, and what the consequences will be. For example, many scientists attribute the warmer temperature to natural causes, such as pools of warm water in the Pacific Ocean—not the greenhouse effect.

Ozone Depletion. Some greenhouse gases called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) destroy Earth's ozone layer. Ozone is distributed in a thin layer in Earth's atmosphere and shields Earth from the Sun's dangerous ultraviolet rays. Increased exposure to ultraviolet radiation weakens the human body's immune system, causes skin cancer and eye damage, and destroys crops and microorganisms. CFCs are a family of chemicals that are often used

Air Pollution Shortens Lives

A 1995 study—the largest ever conducted on the health effects of air pollution—found that people in the nation's most polluted cities are 15 to 17 percent more likely to die prematurely than those in cities with the cleanest air. The nationwide project tracked the health histories of 552,138 adults in 151 metropolitan areas from 1982 to 1989. Scientists and doctors then compared the mortality data in each location with the amount of soot, smoke, and sulfur particles measured by the Environmental Protection Agency at each site.

in cleaning solvents and aerosol spray cans and as coolants in refrigerators and air conditioners.

In 1993, a study by the British Antarctic Survey revealed that a hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica covered 8.9 million square miles, an area more than twice the size of the United States. Scientists say, however, that the size of the hole as measured in 1993 does not mean that an international effort to cut levels of ozone-eating chemicals is not working. These chemicals take several years to drift over Antarctica, so the effects of current reductions will not be noticed until the next century.

In a further effort to protect the ozone layer, delegates from eighty-seven nations met in Copenhagen, Denmark, in late 1993 and agreed to accelerate their schedules for phasing out chemicals that damage Earth's ozone layer. Under the agreement, some chemicals would be regulated for the first time, and CFCs would be phased out by 1996 rather than the original target date of 2000. The United States has already taken steps to control CFCs by outlawing CFC-propelled spray cans and reducing the domestic use and production of CFCs.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

As rivers become polluted, they become unsafe for many recreational activities. Workers, like the ones pictured here, have to regularly clean refuse from river banks.

Acid Rain. In the northeastern region of the United States and in Canada, air pollution has led to highly acidic rainfall. Although the causes of acid rain are disputed, most scientists believe that it results from the transformation of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide (released by coal-burning power plants, factories, and automobiles) into sulfates and nitrates. When combined with moisture in the air, sulfates and nitrates become acids and fall to earth as acid rain. Acid rain increases the acidity of soil, streams, and lakes, making them less habitable for plants and animals.

Acid rain has become an international issue. Sulfur emissions from coal-burning plants in one country can travel across international borders, causing acid rain to fall in other countries. For

Major Environment Laws and Treaties

Problem	Law or Treaty	Year	Provisions
Global warming	Convention on Climate Change	1992	Recommends curbing emissions of greenhouse gases
Ozone layer	Montreal Protocols	1990	Bans CFCs in industrial countries by 2000, and in Third World countries by 2010
	Clean Air Act	1990	Puts Montreal Protocol limits into law Eliminates other ozone-depleting chemicals Mandates CFC recycling in 1992 for air conditioners and refrigerators
Acid rain	Clean Air Act	1990	Reduces sulfur dioxide emissions to 8.9 million tons a year by 2000 Reduces nitrogen oxides by 2 million tons by 1996
Endangered species	Endangered Species Act	1973	Bans killing endangered plants and animals
	Convention on Climate and Biodiversity	1992	Requires inventories of plants and wildlife and sharing of research, profits, and technology
Nuclear waste	Nuclear Waste Policy Act	1982	Plans a permanent, underground repository for nuclear waste by the mid-1990s
Toxic waste	Toxic Substances Control Act	1976	Gives EPA the power to ban or regulate dangerous substances and test new substances
	Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act	1980	Created the Superfund program to pay for the cleanup of hazardous waste sites and future toxic chemical disasters
Solid waste	Resource Conservation and Recovery Act	1976	Banned disposal of hazardous industrial wastes in city dumps
	Resource Conservation and Recovery Act	1984	Controls disposal of hazardous household wastes Requires all facilities handling wastes to have permits Establishes a system to track hazardous wastes from creation to disposal

example, Canadian officials have protested that a large share of Canada's acid rain is caused by pollution produced in the United States. U.S. law now requires electrical utilities to reduce the total levels of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide they release by 10 million tons by 2000.

Nuclear Waste. Many nuclear materials are highly toxic and take thousands of years to lose radioactivity. The problem is how to safely dispose of nuclear waste. If the waste is buried in cans, the cans might someday leak radioactive material into the soil and the water table. Dumping nuclear waste containers in the ocean presents a similar problem. Although experts have developed disposal technology, there are no guarantees that nuclear waste will never pollute the environment. Today, highly radioactive nuclear waste from weapons production remains in temporary storage awaiting the establishment of permanent depositories. In addition, spent radioactive fuel from nuclear power plant reactors is being stored temporarily in cooling pools at the plants.

A national logjam exists over where to store accumulated nuclear waste. A 1980 plan for states to take responsibility for low-level nuclear waste disposal has been opposed by citizens who do not want the waste stored near their communities. Currently, forty-two states have plans to build sites or share a common repository with other states. The U.S. government plans to complete a permanent, underground repository for nuclear waste in Yucca Mountain, Nevada, within twenty-five years.

Toxic Waste. Toxic wastes are the poisonous or carcinogenic (cancer-causing) chemical compounds that remain after the production of chemicals, metals, and plastics. The United States generates 4.4 billion pounds of these toxic materials each year. Unlike nuclear wastes, some toxic wastes can be broken down into relatively safe substances through burning or chemical treatment. But for many years, toxic chemicals had been dumped into pits, ponds, and landfills. In some places, the chemicals soaked into the soil and filtered into the water table, endangering the lives of humans, plants, and animals.

Today, the Environmental Protection Agency has strict rules for dumping toxic waste. For example, all such material must be placed in licensed landfills with lined bottoms to prevent chemicals from leaking into the soil. Toxic dumps must also have monitoring wells to check for leaks, and operators must carry enough insurance to pay for $6 million in cleanup costs every year. In addition, Congress has created the Superfund program to pay for the initial cleanup of hazardous waste sites and any future toxic chemical disasters. The company responsible for the disaster eventually assumes the costs. Today, more than 1,000 toxic waste sites are on Superfund's cleanup priority list.

In recent years the amount of toxic pollutants released into the nation's air, water, and land has been decreasing by about 10 percent a year. In addition, industries now recycle nearly 52 percent of all toxic chemical wastes.

Solid Waste. Each year, Americans throw away 180 million tons of trash. Of this amount, almost 72 million tons is paper waste, while 32 million tons is yard refuse (grass clippings, leaves, and tree limbs). Three-quarters of this trash is buried in landfills. While the amount of garbage is increasing, landfill space is decreasing. Since 1980, more than 3,000 landfills have closed because they were contaminating water supplies or did not meet government standards. The EPA estimates that most dumping space will be filled by 2000. Thus, some cities must find alternatives to burying their trash. Some have already run out of landfill space and are forced to ship their solid waste to other com-

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Many communities are facing a shortage of solid waste dumps. Landfills are filling up or closing down because they are polluting the water supply.

munities. Several coastal cities haul the waste out into the ocean, while others burn it in incinerators to generate energy. However, incinerators may also pollute the air and produce hazardous ash, which in turn has to be buried in landfills. To reduce the amount of solid waste in landfills, many communities currently require residents to separate recyclables from other solid waste. In addition, many cities encourage homeowners to place yard waste, such as grass clippings and leaves, into compost piles to reuse as mulch, rather than send it to landfills.

Current Issues

Environmental Regulations. In 1995, lawmakers introduced legislation to weaken some environmental laws passed earlier by Congress, including the Endangered Species Act and the Clean Air Act. The new legislation would scale back provisions of the the Clean Air Act, cut funding for endangered species protection programs, and overturn laws that preserved a greater share of

California water for wildlife areas. Environmental groups called the effort to roll back these regulations an all-out assault on the environment. Nevertheless, others say that the federal government has burdened states and businesses for too long with these costly laws that are based on questionable scientific findings.

Environmental Education

Many educators say studying the environment is one of the most popular trends in education today. Environmental education is a mandatory part of public schools' primary and secondary curricula in thirty states and voluntary in eighteen others. Supporters believe that environmental studies are important as the nation debates issues such as endangered species and global warming. However, critics argue that sometimes schools turn these courses into arenas for scientifically unsound, doomsday propaganda, usually provided by controversial environmental groups.

Supporters of many environmental laws argue that these regulations exist not to harm businesses but to protect public safety. They cite recent findings that air pollution can shorten lives of people living in big cities as evidence that Congress should not, for example, begin dismantling the Clean Air Act. In addition, advocates for the environment believe that critics have been greatly exaggerating the adverse impact regulations have on jobs in certain industries. Environmentalists argue that if these bills are scaled back, air and water pollution will worsen.

Opponents of the Endangered Species Act, the Clean Air Act, and similar legislation contend that these laws can be less intrusive and still protect public safety. They claim that burdensome regulations cost states and industries millions of dollars to meet federal requirements, thereby crippling state budgets and causing job layoffs. Workers in the timber industry have faced layoffs because of the Endangered Species Act, which indirectly imposes limits on logging to protect the northern spotted owl from extinction. Critics of these laws point out that many members of Congress simply want to eliminate provisions that are overburdensome, not repeal entire bills.

Toxic Waste. Almost everyone agrees that toxic waste sites must be located and cleaned up. But who should pay the costs, and who should compensate the people whose homes have been contaminated by toxic wastes?

The 1980 Superfund legislation proposed that dumpers pay for the cleanup, but that until they are

The Walden Woods Project

Many celebrities have campaigned to protect the environment. Here, rock star Don Henley (kneeling at left, bottom row) and other celebrities join young people in planting a tree at historic Walden Pond, Massachusetts. Walden Woods was the site of a proposed office complex until the Walden Woods Project bought it from the developer.

identified and fined, the EPA should start cleaning up, using monies collected through a special tax on oil and chemical companies. The Superfund law also gave people a longer time to sue manufacturers who created toxic waste hazards. Previously, people who believed they had been harmed by the wastes were often unable to sue because their illnesses developed after time limits set by state laws had expired.

Supporters of Superfund agree that companies and individuals who create hazards should be forced to pay. However, finding the guilty parties is not always easy. Many toxic waste sites are old, and records about what was dumped or who deposited the waste may not exist. In addition, some companies that dumped pollutants years ago are no longer in business. As a result, the government cannot recoup expenses for the cleanup, and injured persons cannot sue a company they cannot identify. One proposal for paying the costs would use general tax dollars for both cleanup and victim compensation. Another proposal would

Many educators believe that students will recycle for the rest of their lives if recycling becomes part of their lifestyle. At this Williamsburg, Virginia, middle school, students sort paper to be recycled. Americans throw away 71.8 million tons of paper each year. Environmentalists hope to reduce this quantity by increasing paper recycling.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

enlarge the Superfund by increasing taxes on those who produce toxic materials.

Many experts say that Superfund needs to be reformed to speed up toxic cleanup. The number of sites requiring action grows by 100 a year, but only 220 of the almost 1,300 sites requiring attention have been cleaned so far. Legislators plan to negotiate a fair-share payment to garner more cooperation from polluters. Under this plan, parties responsible for dumping toxic waste would pay only for their share of the total cleanup. For example, if they contributed 25 percent of the waste, they would pay 25 percent of the cleanup costs. Opponents of this reform idea say that further negotiations will only stall the already slow cleanup process.

Community Recycling. Many communities have started recycling programs for glass, aluminum, newspapers, and plastics to reduce the amount of solid waste. In 1993, Americans recycled 65 percent of their aluminum cans and 56 percent of their newspapers. Many environmentalists and local government officials maintain that mandatory recycling should be expanded as soon as possible, because waste sites are rapidly filling up and soon there will be no place left to safely dump trash. They also see advantages to reusing rather than discarding valuable resources.

Although most experts view recycling as a promising alternative to landfills, they also see problems. They point out that it is costly for communities to collect, sort, and recycle waste. For example, it costs between $125 and $175 to collect and sort one ton of glass that is worth only $25 per ton. Aluminum, which costs between $500 and $1,000 per ton to collect and sort, is the most cost-efficient, with a market value of $750 per ton.

Outlook

Virtually every American wants clean water and air, the maintenance of national parks, and the survival of all plant and animal species—but at limited cost. The American public distrusts many types of federal government regulation and worries about the effect on the economy. Consequently, the campaign for new environmental laws has come to a standstill; many laws may even be weakened by the current Congress. Many Americans believe that the dismantling of provisions in existing laws will be detrimental to the environment and, therefore, to public health and safety. Others respond that too many government regulations are unnecessary, kill productivity and jobs, and often do not accomplish what they set out to do. However, dangers to the environment still exist. In deciding whether to support environmental laws, the American public must balance the potential harm to the environment against the economic benefits of less government regulation.

The Debate

Environment

Environmental Regulations Should be Eased.

PRO

Over the years, Congress has passed legislation to protect the environment, but in fact has ended up harming the economy. The costs these federal regulations impose on states and businesses are substantial and have resulted in job layoffs in many communities. It is time to reexamine these laws, study their scientific worth, and ask if they work against economic growth.

CON

Environmental laws protect the public against abusive and unsafe practices of industry. Dirty water and filthy air harm everyone. Without regulations, factories would be destroying the air and polluting streams. If we scale back these laws now, the environmental progress of the past twenty years would be wiped out and public health could be hurt.

Polluters Should Pay for Toxic Waste Cleanup.

PRO

The American taxpayer should not have to pay for the actions of polluters. The government cannot allow industries to pollute the environment without penalty. Cleanup of environmental hazards is an expense of doing business and is not a cost that can be passed along to the public through higher taxes or health risks.

CON

One way or another, the cost of cleaning up the environment will fall on American citizens. Companies will either pass on the expense to consumers through higher prices or they will go out of business, leaving the government to pay. The government is the best and most reliable agent to pay for cleaning up the environment.

Communities Should Make Recycling Mandatory.

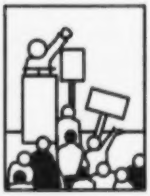
PRO

Each year, Americans discard 180 million tons of trash, which is buried in landfills that are becoming filled. Communities should mandate recycling programs to reduce the amount of trash placed in landfills. Recycling can make consumers more aware of reducing waste and protecting the environment and can bring in money when the recycled materials are sold.

CON

Recycling should be voluntary, not mandatory. Sorting recyclables from trash takes too much effort and time for individuals, and using collection agencies costs too much. Instead, local governments should offer incentives to their citizens for reducing overall amount of trash rather than forcing those who do not wish to recycle to do so.

Constitutional Rights



When the first Congress of the United States met in 1789, one of its early tasks was to draft the list of freedoms that became known as the Bill of Rights—the first ten amendments to the new Constitution. Included in the Bill of Rights are promises that give Americans the freedom to express themselves, that protect persons accused of crimes, and that limit the power of the national government. Although the Bill of Rights is the major source of constitutional rights, other sections of the Constitution also grant rights.

Many currently debated issues such as the right to die and drug testing are based on rights guaranteed by the Constitution. None of these issues is specifically mentioned in that document because the technologies to prolong life and test for illegal drug use did not exist when the first Congress proposed its amendments. Because there are no clear guidelines on the legality of such issues in the Constitution, Americans for years have hotly debated the extent of government involvement in many areas of their lives.

It is ultimately the responsibility of the U.S. Supreme Court to interpret if and how the Bill of Rights and the Constitution apply to certain situations. Sometimes the Court must decide conflicts in which both sides claim to be exercising their constitutional rights. The rulings of the Court determine whether government can enact laws to limit, regulate, or even forbid certain behavior.

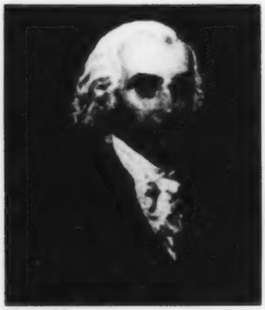
Key Questions

- Should abortion remain legal?
- Should euthanasia be allowed?
- Should a moment of silence be permitted in public schools?

Background

Guaranteeing Individual Rights

The Bill of Rights. The Constitution of the United States, written in 1787, needed to be ratified by nine of the existing thirteen states to become law. By June 21, 1788, the necessary number of states had ratified it, but the two largest—Virginia and New York—had not. Many people doubted that the new government could succeed without the support of these two influential states. When Virginia and New York finally ratified the Constitution, they did so with the provision that a listing of individual rights be included, as several other states before them had also requested. Those who had opposed ratification wanted the new constitution to guarantee freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly, and to protect the rights of the accused. Thus, when Congress met for the first time in the spring of 1789, one of its tasks was to draft amendments to guarantee the rights of individuals. James Madison, a member of Congress from Virginia, wrote the proposals from which the Bill of Rights emerged. Finally, on December 15, 1791, ten amendments—the Bill of Rights—were ratified by the states and became part of the Constitution.


Library of Congress

James Madison, the fourth president of the United States and the "father of the Constitution," sponsored the first ten amendments, which became known as the Bill of Rights.

The First Amendment. The First Amendment guarantees Americans the freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. It prevents the government from making laws establishing a national religion or prohibiting people from following their own religion. The First Amendment separates religion and government. The amendment also forbids Congress from making laws that stop Americans from speaking or writing what they wish. However, the courts have ruled that these rights of free expression are not unlimited. For example, the First Amendment does not allow speech or writing that is meant to cause the overthrow of the government by force. Nor does it allow people to make false statements about another's character. Additionally, the amendment allows people to hold peaceful meetings and to ask the government to correct a wrong. The Constitution protects the right of people to peacefully express their views in public, even if those views are unpopular. However, it does not permit anyone to incite a riot or to hold meetings that stop traffic or injure others.

The Second and Third Amendments. After the experiences of the American Revolution, the first Congress wanted to ensure that people could protect themselves by serving as armed citizens in the militia and that citizens could not be forced to house soldiers in peacetime. The Second Amendment prohibits the government from banning arms needed for national guards or militias. However,

Mark West/C-SPAN

The First Amendment protects the freedoms of speech and assembly. In the case of **Texas v. Johnson** *(1989), the Supreme Court ruled that burning the flag is a form of speech protected by the Constitution and, therefore, is legal.*

"the right of the people to keep and bear arms" has not been interpreted to mean that any citizen can own any type of firearm. For example, federal laws restrict private ownership of sawed-off shotguns and machine guns. The Second Amendment does not apply to states and local governments, which may pass more restrictive laws on gun ownership. The Third Amendment prohibits the government from forcing citizens to house or feed soldiers in peacetime.

Amendments Protecting Suspected Criminals. The Bill of Rights guarantees that the government will treat fairly any persons accused of crimes. The following amendments guarantee certain rights:

- The Fourth Amendment protects persons from unreasonable searches and seizures.
- The Fifth Amendment protects suspects from being forced to testify against themselves; guarantees that defendants will not be retried for crimes for which they were found not guilty; and prevents the government from taking a person's life, property, or freedom except in ways specified by law.
- The Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a speedy trial with a jury, the right to an attorney, and the rights to confront adverse witnesses and obtain favorable ones.
- The Eighth Amendment forbids excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment.

To enforce these protections, the Supreme Court has devised some strict rules that have, in a small number of cases, resulted in criminals going free. However, these rules also protect citizens from unfair treatment by the police.

The Exclusionary Rule. The Fourth Amendment protects citizens from invasion of their privacy by unreasonable searches and seizures. Before a police officer can search a place or a person, the officer must first secure a warrant by presenting to a judge specific justification for a search (such as evidence that a crime has been committed and that the search could turn up useful information). The officer must also produce a list of items to be seized, with their location. Based on this information, the judge can issue or deny a warrant. However, police do not need warrants in situations that demand swift action. Courts have found that the only effective way to enforce the Fourth Amendment is to exclude any illegally seized evidence from trials. This court action is known as the exclusionary rule. Excluding such evidence sometimes results in the failure to convict a suspect—or even in the dismissal of charges—for lack of proof.

Phoenix Newspapers, Inc.

The case of Ernesto Miranda (pictured above) changed the rights of suspected criminals in the United States. In* Miranda v. Arizona *(1966), the Supreme Court ruled that criminal suspects must be read their rights when they are arrested.

In the 1980s the Supreme Court allowed several exceptions to the exclusionary rule. One such exception allows evidence from an illegal search to be used in court if the police officers had a warrant, believed they were acting legally, and later found that some technical flaw made their search illegal. Another exception allows illegally seized evidence to be used if the prosecuting lawyer can show that the evidence would eventually have been discovered by legal means. Illegally gathered evidence may also be used if it was obtained as a result of an "honest mistake" by the police.

The Miranda *Ruling.* Both the Fifth and Sixth Amendments apply at the time of arrest. For many years, some police departments would routinely question a suspect for extended periods of time without the suspect's attorney being present. However, in 1966, the Supreme Court issued guidelines to protect criminal suspects from such abuses. In the case of *Miranda v. Arizona,* the Court ruled that suspects in police custody must be read their legal rights before being questioned. These rights include the right to remain silent and the right to a lawyer. If the police do not inform defendants of their rights, any evidence gained from questioning cannot be used in court.

The Seventh Amendment. While the Sixth Amendment protects the right to a jury trial in criminal cases, the Seventh Amendment provides for juries in civil cases, such as those dealing with automobile accidents or unpaid bills. In disputes over property, either side can insist on a jury trial or both can agree not to have a jury. The amendment also limits the power of judges to interfere with a jury's decision.

The Ninth and Tenth Amendments. Some early Americans feared that if a right were not specifically listed in the Bill of Rights, it might be taken away. The Ninth Amendment prevents the government from denying people rights not mentioned in the Constitution. It says that the listing of certain rights does not mean these are the only rights that people have. The Tenth Amendment guarantees that the people or the states have all the powers that have not been given to the central government or prohibited to the states.

The Fourteenth Amendment. Although the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution is not part of the Bill of Rights, it, too, is often used to protect the rights of individuals. One part of this amendment has been interpreted to mean that state and local governments are required to protect most of the guarantees listed in the first ten amendments. Originally, the Bill of Rights only applied to the federal government, but the Fourteenth Amendment, which was added to the Constitution after the Civil War, extends most protections to the actions of state and local governments as well.

Another part of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits racial and sexual discrimination. The amendment has also been interpreted by the Supreme Court to protect a person's right to die and a woman's right to have an abortion.

Current Issues

Abortion. Abortion has been and still is one of the nation's most controversial issues. In its 1973 landmark decision in *Roe v. Wade,* the Supreme Court ruled that a woman has a constitutional right to an abortion. The Court based its ruling on two findings. First, the justices found that a woman's right to privacy allowed her to end a pregnancy. Although the word "privacy" does not appear in the Constitution, the Supreme Court had previously ruled that such a right does exist. Second, the Court said that a fetus is not protected under the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee that "no person" can be deprived of life without a fair trial. In effect, the *Roe v. Wade* decision struck down state laws forbidding abortion during the first three months of pregnancy, but did allow states to prohibit abortion during the last three months, when the fetus is capable of living outside the womb.

NOW
STOP ABORTION

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

In 1973, the Supreme Court ruled that a woman's right to an abortion was guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Since then, abortion has become an emotionally charged issue, with battle lines drawn between those who want the decision overturned and those who believe that the Court's decision was correct and should not be changed.

The Court's decision gave rise to an antiabortion movement that called for states to find ways to restrict abortion and for the Supreme Court to reverse *Roe v. Wade.* In the 1989 case of *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, Inc.*, the Supreme Court gave states greater power to restrict abortions, causing both proponents and critics of legalized abortion to focus their campaigns on state legislatures.

Pennsylvania is among the thirty-seven states that either restrict abortion or limit state funding. Pennsylvania's law said that a woman seeking an abortion must first wait twenty-four hours, receive counseling about how a fetus develops, and, if married, notify her husband. Planned Parenthood challenged this law all the way to the Supreme Court in 1992. In *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, the Court upheld most of the provisions of the Pennsylvania law but ruled that making a married woman notify her husband before having an abortion was an "undue burden," and, therefore, unconstitutional. Although the Court's decision on the Pennsylvania law was not an endorsement of *Roe v. Wade*, it did not overturn the 1973 decision, as many antiabortion rights activists hoped it would.

Opponents of legalized abortion argue that the reasoning behind the Supreme Court's ruling in *Roe v. Wade* is flawed. Many believe that human life begins at conception and that abortion is, therefore, a form of murder. Thus, they argue that the Court gave women the legal right to commit murder and that *Roe v. Wade* must be overturned. Foes of abortion also contend that abortion has led to sexual promiscuity in American society—especially among teenagers, some of whom may view abortion as an acceptable means of birth control. Some opponents of legalized abortion also say that it is harmful to

Access to Abortion Clinics

In response to firebombings of abortion clinics and the murder of a doctor by antiabortion protesters, Congress passed a new law in May 1994 called the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, which makes it a federal crime to attack or blockade abortion clinics, their employees, or their patrons. Supporters of the new law hope that it will help make abortion clinics more secure. Critics believe that the law violates the antiabortion protesters' First Amendment right to free speech. They also argue that the new law singles out abortion protesters for stiffer penalties than would be given to, for example, antiwar or civil rights activists.

women's health. They cite studies that show high rates of hemorrhage and infection following abortions. They also argue that women who have had abortions are more likely to have complications in subsequent pregnancies. Some doctors have reported higher rates of premature births, miscarriages, complicated labors, and other health problems among women who have had abortions than among those who have not.

Those who believe that abortion should remain legal say that in a free society the government should not limit a woman's right to choose to terminate a pregnancy. They argue that abortion is a personal choice—not the business of government—and that laws limiting abortion violate a woman's privacy by controlling intimate decisions about pregnancy. In addition, abortion rights activists argue that medical experts do not agree on when life begins; therefore, abortion cannot be considered murder. They also contend that legalized abortion protects a woman's health by allowing her to have a safe abortion performed by a qualified physician.

Living Wills

Passive euthanasia is permitted in states that have "living will" laws. Living wills allow competent people to specify which treatments they do not wish to receive should they suffer from a debilitating illness or injury. Thirty-nine states permit such wills, but may restrict the types of treatment that may be refused.

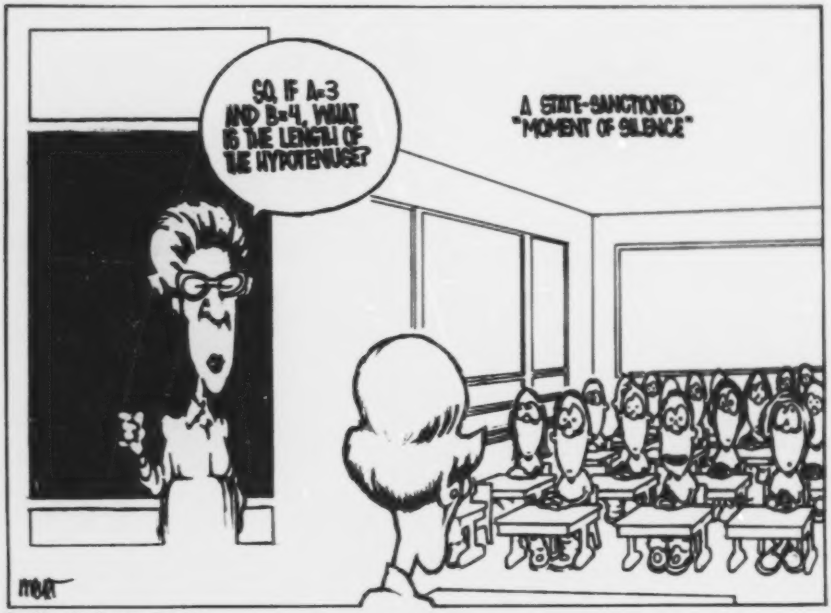
The Right to Die. In the case of *Cruzan v. Director, Missouri Department of Health* (1990), the Supreme Court issued its first ruling on whether Americans have a constitutional right to die. The Court determined that the right to refuse medical treatment was guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. However, "clear and convincing evidence," such as a living will, showing that a patient requested to be allowed to die, must be presented before life-support systems can be disconnected.

Since the *Cruzan* decision, national debates have ensued over the rights of terminally and chronically ill patients to end their lives. Traditionally, as in the *Cruzan* case, the issue centered around passive euthanasia, or the refusal of life-prolonging treatments. But the debate now also includes arguments about what steps can be taken to actively end a patient's life.

Proponents of legal euthanasia say that it allows Americans to die with dignity, without prolonging pain and suffering. Advanced medical treatments enable doctors to keep patients alive much longer than in the past. Thus, right-to-die supporters argue that patients are being kept alive long after their quality of life has irreversibly deteriorated. Permitting doctors to assist in patients' suicides ensures that patients and their families will make informed decisions and that the patient will die with as little pain as possible.

Opponents argue that doctor-assisted suicides allow too many opportunities for abuse. For instance, they say, older patients and patients with little money might be pressured to choose to die once they become a financial burden on their families. Furthermore, critics point out that patients are sometimes misdiagnosed; what was thought to be a fatal condition sometimes mysteriously reverses itself. In addition, opponents argue that once active euthanasia is permitted, further abuses can occur. They often cite Nazi Germany's active euthanasia of older people and people with mental illnesses as an example of the dangers of legalized euthanasia.

Religion and Public Schools. One of the most divisive constitutional rights issues is the separation of church and state. The First Amendment, ratified in 1791, reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; . . ." In other words, the government cannot interfere in the affairs of religion, and vice versa. Americans have debated how strict this separation should be and what the framers of the amendment intended.


SO, IF A=3 AND B=4, WHAT IS THE LENGTH OF THE HYPOTENUSE?
A STATE-SANCTIONED "MOMENT OF SILENCE"

Tom Meyer/San Francisco Chronicle

Many Americans believe that the line between religion and government should not be crossed; the workings of each institution should remain separate. These separationists argue that if the line is blurred, freedom of religion will be threatened. However, others known as accommodationists contend that the First Amendment does not completely divorce religion from government. They think that government should accommodate, or make allowances for, the long religious tradition in American society.

Over the past few decades, the main battleground concerning the separation of church and state has been the nation's public schools. In 1962, the Supreme Court prohibited state-sponsored prayer in the public schools on the grounds that it violated the separation of church and state. The Court has never banned prayer in public schools if it is done voluntarily by an individual student.

In a series of related decisions, the Supreme Court has continually ruled that public schools cannot sponsor any kind of religious exercise—be it devotional Bible readings, prayer in the classroom, or prayer at graduation ceremonies.

Some Americans believe that allowing a "moment of silence" or "moment of reflection," which is becoming more commonplace in American public schools, is an acceptable and constitutional compromise on the school prayer issue. However, in *Wallace v. Jaffree* (1985), the Supreme Court struck down an Alabama law that required a moment of silence in public schools. The Court ruled that the history of the Alabama law indicated that the moment of silence was intended to promote prayer and endorse religion. However, some recent state laws requiring moments of silence have not suggested that the time be used for formal prayer. Although states including Georgia, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and South Carolina allow moments of silence in school, some Americans believe such laws are unconstitutional. For example, in August 1994, a Georgia teacher refused to observe the mandatory sixty seconds of "silent reflection" in his classroom and was suspended by school officials.

Many Americans think that moments of silence can instill discipline in students by encouraging quiet thought or preparation for school. Supporters of moments of silence say that allowing time for reflection does not represent officially organized school prayer because teachers tell students to use the time however they wish and do not encourage prayer. Moreover, supporters argue that if students wish to use the time for silent prayer, they have a right to do so through the free speech and free exercise of religion clauses of the Constitution.

However, critics believe that a moment of silence is organized school prayer by another name. In addition, many Americans contend that certain groups will use moment of silence practices to eventually get official prayer back into the nation's public schools. Some say that moments of silence can result in coercing students to pray through peer pressure. Opponents of moments of silence also say that it is not the place of government to set the manner or time of prayer in school. Such practices, they argue, are unfair to religious minorities and nonreligious students who may not wish to pray at that hour or place—or at all. Thus, opponents say that moments of silence in school violate the separation of church and state.

Outlook

Most citizens view the United States as the most free society in the world because its people have many rights. Some of these rights are listed or implied in the Constitution, a document that is continually being interpreted by the Supreme Court. Future court cases will further define and clarify the rights of citizens. Court rulings will determine how Americans can exercise their rights, whether or how much the government can regulate or limit those rights, and when the rights of one individual or group begin to erode the rights of someone else. Americans also have the right to amend the Constitution if they disagree with a ruling of the Supreme Court or if they think additional rights need to be extended to the people. This interplay between Supreme Court rulings and the will of the American people shapes many issues, including religion, privacy, and free speech, as well as the criminal justice system.

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The Debate

Constitutional Rights

Abortion Should Remain Legal.

PRO

In a free society, a woman should have the right to choose whether or not to terminate her pregnancy without interference from government. Abortion is not murder; no one has proven that life begins at conception. Legalized abortions protect the health of women by allowing competent doctors to perform them using safe medical procedures under sanitary conditions.

CON

Human life begins at conception. Thus, ending a pregnancy by abortion is the same as committing murder. In addition, too many people view abortion as an acceptable means of birth control, an attitude that has led to increased sexual promiscuity. Abortions also cause health problems. The government must make abortion illegal and enforce respect for human life.

Euthanasia Should Be Allowed.

PRO

The right to die is a human and constitutional right. Today's medical technology can keep people alive in vegetative or severely impaired states for long and indefinite periods. Doctor-assisted suicides spare terminally and chronically ill patients prolonged pain and suffering. Patients should be able to die with dignity, and they should be able to do so with the legal assistance of a qualified doctor.

CON

It is unethical for doctors, or anybody else, to end the life of another human being under any circumstances. Euthanasia will lead to killing unwanted older, sick, and disabled men and women. Uninsured patients will be pressured to choose death to avoid being a financial burden. Patients can be misdiagnosed with terminal illnesses, causing their families to make misinformed decisions.

Moments of Silence Should Be Permitted in Public Schools.

PRO

Moments of silence are merely periods of reflection that do not promote religion or prayer in school. They encourage quiet thought and help students prepare for school by focusing their attention. Teachers tell students to spend the time quietly doing whatever they want, but each student may pray if he or she wishes. The freedom to do so is guaranteed by the free speech and free exercise of religion clauses of the Constitution.

CON

Moments of silence requirements attempt to introduce officially sanctioned prayer into public schools. Some students may feel pressured into prayer if classmates pray. Moreover, through moments of silence, the government dictates the manner and time of prayer, which may not be appropriate for some religious minorities. Moments of silence compromise religious freedom and force prayer on nonreligious students.

Crime and Drugs

Violent crime is a problem that affects millions of Americans, regardless of age, race, gender, or income. Every twenty-two seconds, someone in the United States is beaten, shot, robbed, raped, or killed. On average, around 1.9 million violent crimes are reported to law enforcement agencies every year. Many of these crimes are related to the illegal drug trade and drug abuse. According to a recent opinion poll, violent crime tops a list of items that men and women see as the greatest threat to "America's rights and freedoms."

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) statistics for 1994 actually show a drop in the number of violent crimes. Still, even with the slight drop in the violent crime rate, America's crime statistics far surpass those of other industrialized countries.

Appalled by highly publicized random shootings, carjackings, and kidnappings, citizens have called on their elected representatives to take strong action against crime. Mayors, governors, members of Congress, and President Bill Clinton all made fighting crime a top legislative priority in 1994 and 1995. There are no easy answers on how to attack violent crime. Many social and economic factors have to be considered when addressing crime—unemployment, poverty, drug abuse, guns, an overburdened criminal justice system, and others. Many Americans think that stricter punishment and stronger law enforcement will reduce crime. Others believe that societal problems are the roots of violent criminal behavior and that unless those problems are addressed, crime in the United States will continue to worsen.

Key Questions

- Will gun control laws reduce violent crime?
- Should mandatory sentencing laws be reformed?
- Should the government spend more money on drug treatment?

Crime Rates: USA vs. Japan

The following are FBI statistics comparing the 1992 crime rates (number of instances per 100,000 people) in the United States and Japan:

	U.S.	*Japan*
Violent Crime	**757**	**2**
Homicides	**9**	**1**
Motor Vehicle Thefts	**631**	**29**
Incarceration Rate	**455**	**42**

Background

Crime in America

America the Violent. Crime affects a large segment of the population. An estimated 34 million crimes are committed annually in the United States. Two million Americans every year are victims of violent crime. According to studies, 80 percent of Americans can expect to be victims of crimes at least once in their lifetimes.

Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics show that 3 percent fewer crimes were reported in 1993 than in 1992. According to the FBI report, the incidence of murder, robbery, and rape dropped slightly. However, a series of well-publicized violent crimes—kidnappings, random shootings, and murders of tourists—outraged the public. According to opinion polls, most Americans are afraid to walk in their neighborhoods after dark. More recently, a survey of victims (which some experts believe is more accurate because, unlike the FBI report, it factors in unreported crimes) concluded that violent crime rose 6 percent in 1994.

Terror in the Cities. According to crime statistics and law enforcement officials, violent crime is most prevalent in urban areas. Although virtually all Americans are concerned about crime, suburbs are much safer than many believed. The rate of violent crimes in major cities is 1,800 per 100,000 population—four times the suburban rate and nearly eight times the rural rate. Overall, there were 450,000 violent crime arrests in U.S. cities in 1992, up from 330,000 in 1982.

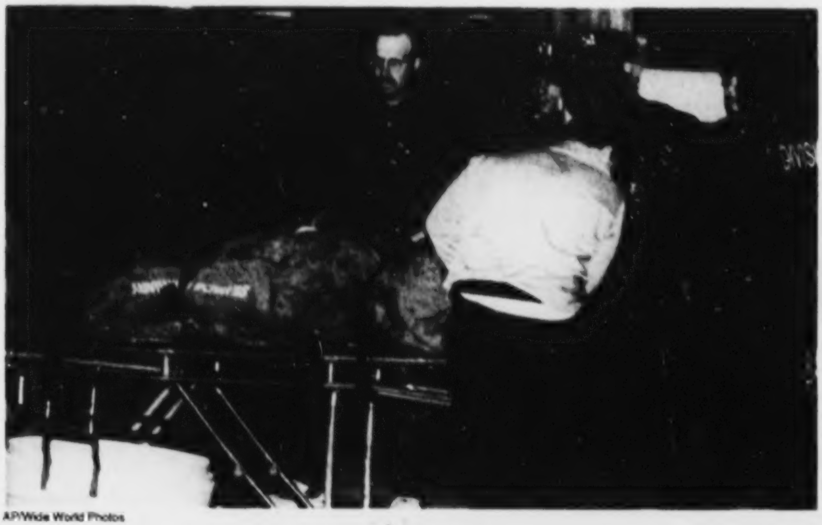
Furthermore, in most U.S. cities crime is concentrated in low-income neighborhoods. In New York, for example, the murder rate in the inner city has been as much as ninety times higher than the rate in higher-income precincts. Cities such as

Chicago, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C., have similar situations.

What Causes Crime? Criminologists and lawmakers have argued over the causes of violent crime for decades. Some experts say that the roots of crime are unemployment, poverty, and drug abuse. Others contend that the judicial system is failing to keep violent criminals off the streets. Many believe that because Americans are so divided over the causes, confronting the problem effectively is more difficult.

Poverty. In 1993, the number of people living below the poverty line in the United States grew to 39.3 million. Experts believe that unemployed people are more likely to be depressed and frustrated and therefore more apt to commit violent or antisocial acts. This appears to be especially true in low-income urban areas, where homicide is the leading cause of death among black men between the ages of 25 and 45. Many Americans believe that young African-American men in the inner city have little hope for the future and, consequently, turn to crime.

Violent crime strikes someone in America every twenty-two seconds.

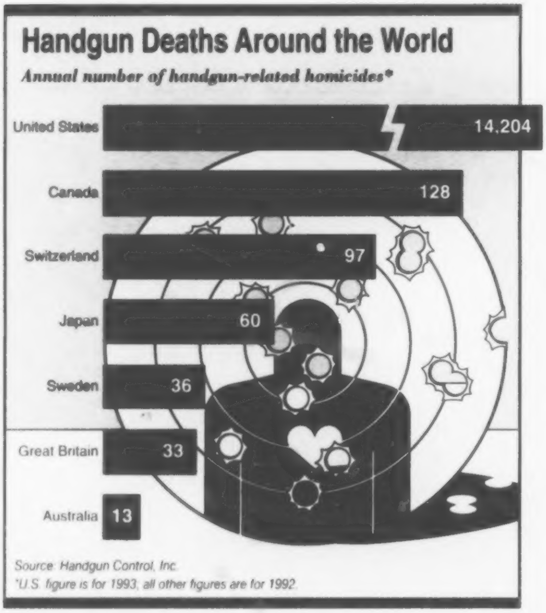


AP/Wide World Photos

Millions of Guns. Many Americans cite the availability of guns and the growing willingness of people to use them as major factors in the high crime rate. Americans own more than 200 million firearms, including handguns, rifles, and shotguns. Although purchases are regulated, people can buy guns with relative ease.

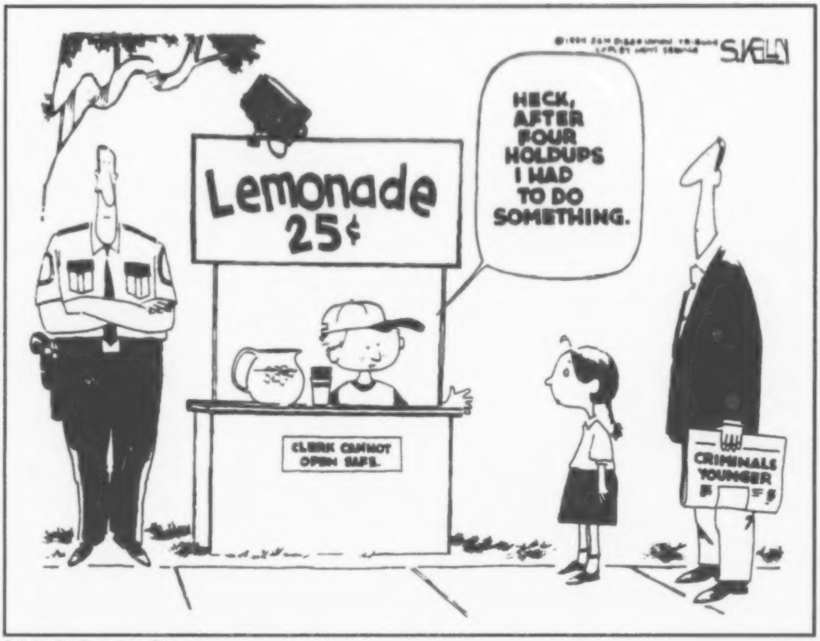
In 1993, there were 14,204 gun murders in the United States. By comparison, Great Britain and Japan had only thirty-three and sixty gun murders, respectively in 1992. In 1993, the call for tighter gun controls grew louder as reports of shooting sprees increased. Congress passed the Handgun Control Act—the Brady bill—mandating a five-day waiting period for anyone purchasing a handgun. A major provision of the 1994 crime bill passed by Congress was the ban on the manufacture, sale, and possession of nineteen types of semiautomatic assault weapons.

The United States has a higher number of murders by handgun than any other industrialized nation. Some experts attribute this high rate to the fact that handguns are readily available to almost anyone who wants to buy one.



Source: Handgun Control, Inc.

*U.S. figure is for 1993; all other figures are for 1992.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25¢
HECK, AFTER FOUR HOLDUPS I HAD TO DO SOMETHING.
CLERK CANNOT OPEN SAFE.
CRIMINALS YOUNGER

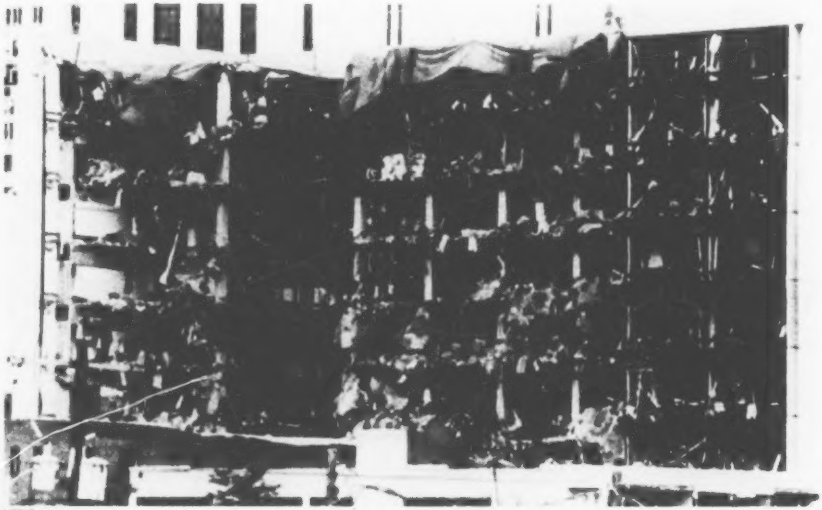
S. Kelley/San Diego Union-Tribune

The Role of Drugs. A 1992 Justice Department report found that the percentage of prison inmates who had committed crimes under the influence of drugs increased significantly between 1974 and 1986. In 1986, 37 percent of all men and women sent to prison were guilty of drug-related crimes. The report indicates that this number has grown since 1986. Many experts believe that the sale and use of illegal drugs, particularly heroin and cocaine, contribute greatly to violent crime. Many drug users commit crimes to support their drug habits. In addition, drug trafficking—the business of manufacturing and selling drugs—results in up to an estimated one-fourth of all murders.

In the 1980s, Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush waged high-profile wars on drugs that cracked down on the growers and manufacturers of drugs in Latin America. However, drug use has continued to rise. Many experts say the government needs to focus on reducing the demand for drugs in the United States, instead of the supply overseas. Some Americans believe that if drugs were legalized, the crimes associated with their manufacture and sale would disappear.

Breakdown of the Judicial System. Of every 1,000 people arrested for violent crimes, only 350 are ever sent to prison. Many Americans accuse the U.S. judicial system of being ineffective first in catching criminals and then in putting them behind bars.

Consequently, these critics contend that the perception among many criminals that crime does pay contributes to the high crime rate. Since court schedules and prisons are overcrowded, criminals can usually bargain for lesser penalties by pleading guilty to reduced charges. Many criminals are confident that they can escape arrest, and even if caught, will not have to serve much time in prison. Many prisoners are released after serving only a third of their sentences. Murderers, for example, usually serve an average of only seven years of their sentences.



One of the deadliest crimes in U.S. history took place on April 19, 1995, when a large homemade bomb destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building (shown here) in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. More than 160 men, women, and children were killed. Law enforcement officials blamed the attack on domestic terrorists who hate the federal government. Many Americans are now afraid that similar bombings may happen. Soon after the explosion, President Clinton asked Congress to pass new laws that would give the government more power to fight terrorism.

AFP/Bettmann

Shorter jail sentences are partly a result of prison overcrowding. Most federal prisons house up to 60 percent more inmates than they were built to accommodate. State prisons also operate at well over capacity.

The Cost of Crime. The economic effects of crime are high. Each year the country spends more than $163 billion because of the consequences of crime. This huge sum includes $32 billion at the state and local level for police, $25 billion for correctional facilities, $37 billion in retail losses, and $20 billion for property losses and medical expenses, among others. The private sector spends about $60 billion annually on security measures such as alarm systems, locks, and security guards. Even accounting for inflation, the cost of crime in 1965 was only $43 billion in 1994 dollars—a fourth of what the problem costs U.S. society today.

The 1994 Crime Bill. In response to the growing public demand that the federal government take action against crime, President Bill Clinton and Congress considered various anticrime initiatives in 1994. Many members wanted the crime bill to stress programs that they believed would prevent crime; others wanted stronger enforcement to punish criminals. After long debate and negotiation, the final bill that Congress approved and President Clinton signed into law was, according to many experts, a compromise measure. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 provides $30 billion over six years for crime control. Major provisions of the bill included funding to add 100,000 police officers nationwide, a ten-year ban on nineteen types of semiautomatic assault weapons, an expansion of the death penalty to cover sixty additional federal crimes, and approval to impose a mandatory life sentence on any criminal convicted of three felonies for vio-

Juveniles and Crime

According to a 1994 American Bar Association report, more young people are being arrested for violent crime and drug offenses than ever before. In 1992, juveniles constituted 16 percent of the arrests for violent crimes, including 15 percent of all murders, rapes, and aggravated assaults. The report found that juvenile arrests are growing faster than adult arrests for the same crimes. Juveniles are also increasingly the victims of violent crime. Between 1986 and 1992, the percentage of murder victims under the age of 18 grew from 8 percent of the total number of people killed to 11 percent.

lent crimes (known as "three strikes and you're out"). However, many members of Congress voted against the crime bill because they believed it included too many crime prevention programs such as midnight sports leagues, drug rehabilitation programs, and other urban community projects. Many critics say these programs are wasteful and do nothing to reduce crime.

Reuters/Bettmann

In October 1994, Francisco Duran, armed with a semi-auomatic rifle banned under the 1994 crime bill, sprayed the White House with bullets before being wrestled to the ground by onlookers. The picture above shows a damaged window. Duran was later charged with attempted assassination of President Clinton.

Current Issues

Gun Control. Experts estimate that Americans own more than 200 million handguns, rifles, and shotguns. The widespread availability of guns and the increasing number of gun-related deaths have prompted some individuals and groups to organize efforts to control the sale and purchase of firearms. Others believe that the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees citizens' right to own guns.

Pointing out that the majority of homicides are committed with firearms, gun control advocates say that violent crime cannot be curbed unless handgun possession is limited or banned. Proponents of gun control want the government at least to require owners to register their handguns and to perform background checks on all handgun buyers to ensure that they do not have criminal records. Some want to limit the number of guns an individual can buy within a certain time period, while others want to ban the sale of handguns completely. Gun control proponents also believe that the Second Amendment does not rule out handgun regulation because it protects the right of a militia (the national guard), not private citizens, to have guns.

Opponents of gun control, led by the National Rifle Association (NRA), argue that the Second Amendment guarantees all citizens, not just those in the militia, the right to "keep and bear arms." Although the NRA supports instant computer checks of gun buyers as an alternative to waiting periods, gun control opponents fear that requiring licenses for certain kinds of firearms may be the first step toward government seizure of all guns. They argue that restricting gun ownership would not keep criminals from obtaining guns and would not prevent crime. Gun control opponents say that criminals do not purchase guns legally but instead steal them or buy them from illegal dealers. They also warn that, ultimately, gun control could disarm the law-abiding general public and place them at the mercy of well-armed criminals. If citizens' liberties under the Second Amendment are limited, some Americans argue, other constitutional rights could be restricted as well.

Mandatory Sentencing. In June 1994, the inmate population in America's federal, state, and local prisons topped 1 million for the first time. There were 373 people in prison for every 100,000 U.S. residents in 1994, compared to 139 inmates for every 100,000 people in 1980.

The 1994 crime bill bans nineteen types of semiautomatic weapons. Pictured below, some pro-gun control members of Congress display the banned weapons outside the Capitol.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

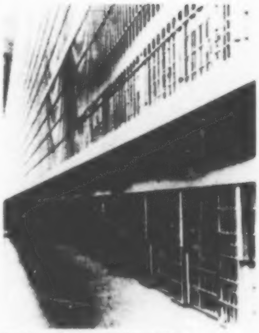
The National Rifle Association believes gun control laws are unconstitutional and will only take firearms out of the hands of law-abiding citizens, like the woman pictured here.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

There are many reasons for this dramatic increase in the U.S. prison population. Crimes solved by police have increased over the past decade and judges are more likely nowadays to impose mandatory prison sentences for first-time criminals, particularly drug offenders. However, judges often have no choice in handing down these sentences. Beginning in the 1980s, lawmakers have passed hundreds of mandatory sentencing laws, many for minor crimes. These laws obligate judges to sentence criminals to at least a minimum term in prison. Many experts expect prisons to become even more overcrowded as the "three strikes and you're out" policy, which imposes mandatory life sentences for anyone convicted of three felonies, takes effect.

Critics believe that sentencing a high number of convicted felons to mandatory jail terms is too expensive and does little to reduce violent crime in the United States. They point out that although many of these laws have been on the books for a decade, the crime rate has remained high. Many experts argue that prison overcrowding will inevitably result in early parole for many repeat violent criminals. Some critics call for truth-in-sentencing laws. Such laws, which some states have implemented, reduce sentences for nonviolent crimes to make more room in prison so murderers and rapists can serve their full sentences.

Supporters of mandatory sentencing argue that would-be criminals would be deterred from committing crime if they knew that they would face time in jail if caught. Many experts believe that mandatory sentencing laws have worked and contend that the U.S. crime rate would be much higher today if these laws had never been implemented. Advocates of mandatory sentencing believe that U.S. taxpayers want the government to spend their tax money locking up criminals and building more prisons.


American Correctional Association

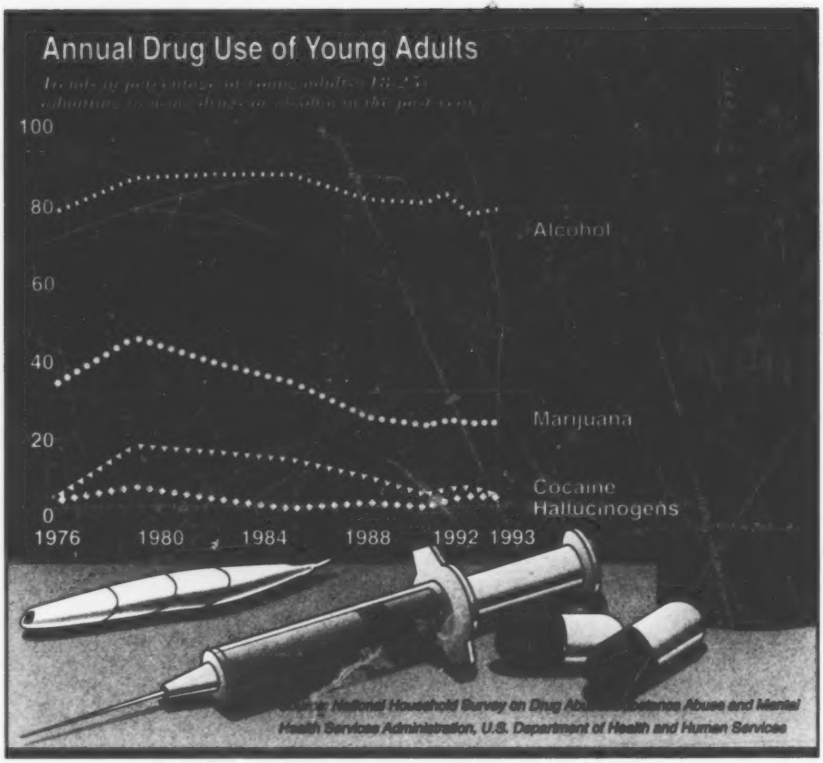
In 1994, the inmate population in U.S. prisons surpassed 1 million for the first time. Many experts attribute this high number to mandatory sentencing laws that obligate judges to impose a minimum prison term for drug offenses and even minor crimes.

Drug Programs: Prevention or Punishment? In 1993, more than 100,000 prisoners were serving time for drug-related offenses, including drug use and drug sales. That same year, almost one-third of all new court cases involved defendants accused of drug-related crimes.

Although many prisons have drug treatment programs, thousands of drug-addicted criminals are released every year from prison without ever being treated for drug addiction. Eighty percent of them return to prison for other crimes. In addition, drug use among American teenagers remains high despite years of drug education programs in school.

In recent years, the federal government has spent billions of dollars to fight drugs. The 1994 crime bill earmarks $1 billion for developing programs to rehabilitate nonviolent drug abusers. In addition, more than $13 billion from another government program will be used to cut the demand for drugs by getting more hard-core drug abusers into treatment programs and keeping more young people off drugs.

Members of Congress disagree over how the government should spend this $14 billion to com-



Source: National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

The number of illicit drug users in the United States rose in 1993 for the first time in more than fourteen years. Use of alcohol has declined in recent years, although the percentage of young adults who use alcohol has remained high.

bat drug use. Some senators and representatives want to use the funds to limit the supply of drugs. They want more customs agents and border patrol officers to arrest drug dealers and work to prevent drugs from entering the country. In addition, many believe that the courts should give mandatory sentences for convicted drug traffickers and drug users. This means that people convicted of any drug-related crimes automatically would go to jail for a set number of years. Supporters believe that the threat of jail time will reduce the use and sale of drugs.

Other officials say that the threat of jail will not stop drug addicts from purchasing drugs. They argue that the government should spend more money on education programs that teach about the dangers of drugs and should get drug users into treatment. Many experts believe education and treatment will reduce the demand for drugs, eventually forcing drug dealers out of business.

Outlook

In 1994, the problem of violent crime received close attention from lawmakers at all levels of American government. The president and Congress passed a $30 billion crime bill, which they hope will ease the public's anxiety over violent crime. Some observers note that the measure had an important political benefit—it made lawmakers appear to be tough on crime. However, critics argue that the bill will not reduce crime because the government has done little to alleviate the poverty and drug abuse many believe are two of the underlying causes of violent crime. Other government officials and ordinary citizens believe that today's criminals must be punished severely before the nation devotes time and money to preventing future criminal behavior.

The Debate

Crime and Drugs

Gun Control Laws Will Reduce Violent Crime.

PRO

Gun-related murders account for more than half of all homicides committed in the United States every year. Waiting periods and bans on semiautomatic weapons will help prevent crime by keeping these weapons out of the hands of violent criminals. Other industrialized nations like Great Britain and Japan have had strict gun control laws for years and never have more than 100 gun-related deaths a year.

CON

Stricter gun control laws will not prevent criminals from obtaining guns. Gun control laws will only prevent law-abiding citizens from getting the firearms they need to protect their homes and families against armed criminals. Violent criminals will obtain guns through illegal means and continue to commit crimes. Innocent citizens, however, will be defenseless because they obeyed gun control laws.

Mandatory Sentencing Laws Should Be Reformed.

PRO

America's prison population surpassed 1 million in 1994 for the first time ever. Our prisons are becoming overcrowded at huge expense to taxpayers, while the violent crime rate is not going down. Mandatory sentencing laws make less room in jail for violent criminals by sending first-time drug offenders and nonviolent criminals to prison. These laws should be changed to cut the prison sentences for minor crimes so that repeat violent criminals can spend more time in prison.

CON

Violent crime is increasing in the United States because criminals believe that crime pays. The judicial system's lackluster enforcement record encourages violent criminals. Mandatory prison sentences send a strong message to would-be criminals: Commit a crime and you will do time. If prisons become overcrowded, then we will have to build more prisons, which the American taxpayers will gladly pay for. The key to fighting crime is keeping criminals off the streets.

The Government Should Spend More on Drug Treatment.

PRO

If the government wants to combat drugs effectively, it must concentrate on reducing the demand for illegal drugs. Government needs to do more to prevent and treat, not punish, drug abuse. Federal funds should be spent on education programs that teach young people about the dangers of drugs and treatment programs to cure addicts. Such programs will diminish the demand for drugs, and drug dealers will go out of business.

CON

The government has been spending billions of dollars on unsuccessful drug programs for too many years. Despite all this money, drug use is still high, and has even risen among teenagers in recent years. The money for the war on drugs should be spent on fighting the drug dealers who bring narcotics into the United States. The government must first cut off the supply of drugs and then spend money treating those addicts who want help.

Foreign Policy Issues

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Introduction

The world has changed dramatically during the past five years. The Cold War has ended, the Soviet Union has dissolved, and communism has virtually disappeared from Europe. Improved communication and increased trade among nations have resulted in a new international interdependence. New prospects for peace—such as the historic 1994 peace treaty between Israel and Jordan—are on the horizon. Industrialized nations have begun shifting their foreign policy focus away from potential conflicts with one another and toward greater cooperation.

Yet some situations have not changed. Many nations continue to fight starvation and poverty. In some nations—such as Bosnia—citizens continue to fight each other. And, the United States, as the strongest nation in the world, continues to play a key, if everchanging, role in international relations.

Until the late 1800s, the United States stayed largely uninvolved in world affairs. Its economic and military power grew in the twentieth century, as did its ability to influence other nations. After the end of World War II in 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union, as the world's two dominant powers, became locked in a Cold War that would last until 1991. Since then, U.S. leaders have worked to define a new role for the United States on the international scene.

Just as U.S. leaders identify the nation's foreign policy goals, they also must determine the best way to achieve those goals and deal with changing circumstances. Some methods are public, while others take place behind the scenes. One way U.S. leaders work with other countries is through diplomacy—meetings between diplomats or government leaders. Diplomacy also includes friendly persuasion, pressure, and advice used to influence other governments. For example, American officials can use trade policies as a means for implementing foreign policy. A third method is through economic or military aid programs. Policymakers may also try to sway the citizens of other countries through newspapers, books, and radio and television broadcasts, or arrange scientific and cultural exchanges to help promote goodwill toward the United States. Nations also belong to international organizations, such as the United Nations, where they debate global concerns. Finally, the government can use military force to protect its interests and those of friendly nations.

In the United States, both the executive and legislative branches are responsible for foreign policy. The president generally sets the agenda for foreign policy decisions by appointing ambassadors, negotiating treaties, and serving as commander in chief of the armed forces. The Department of State carries out the president's foreign policy. State Department officials represent the United States in international negotiations, staff American embassies around the world, promote cultural exchanges between U.S. and foreign citizens, and protect American investments and citizens abroad. Congress has the power to approve presidential nominations for ambassadorships and top State Department positions, declare war, ratify treaties, provide money for foreign aid and military programs, and pass laws or resolutions stating a specific foreign policy.

The administration and Congress do not always agree on foreign policy. Some policymakers think that the government is too involved in foreign affairs and should concentrate more on domestic problems. Many believe that other nations are becoming more interdependent and that the United States needs to be even more involved with other countries. The challenge is to strike a balance between working to solve the world's problems and dealing with issues at home.

Russia

Four years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the political and economic turmoil that triggered that historic event still exists in Russia. In 1992, Boris Yeltsin emerged from the rubble of the Soviet Union to lead Russia into a new era of democracy and free-market capitalism. After the dramatic changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s, the international community was optimistic that Yeltsin could help transform an economy and society ravaged by seventy years of communist rule.

However, President Yeltsin has run into obstacle after obstacle in trying to reform Russia's government and economy. Although much has been achieved during Russia's transition from a communist dictatorship to a free-market society, the economy still suffers from high unemployment and inflation. Crime and drug abuse are on the rise. Yeltsin has few allies in the Russian parliament. A rebellion in the Russian republic of Chechnya in early 1995 added to the Russian president's problems.

The chaos in Russia has made many U.S. officials question whether Yeltsin is in control of his country. Members of Congress have called for a reevaluation of U.S. support of Yeltsin and economic aid to Russia. As the situation in Russia grows more uncertain, many U.S. officials believe the United States must rethink its policies and expand its options. This way, U.S. policymakers would be prepared if events in Russia continue to deteriorate.

Key Questions

- Should the United States continue to support Boris Yeltsin?
- Should the United States send economic aid to Russia?
- Should the United States further reduce its nuclear arsenal?

Background

The Cold War, 1945-89

Origins of the Cold War. During World War II, the United States and Great Britain joined the Soviet Union in fighting a common enemy: Germany. But after the war, the alliance quickly deteriorated over the form of government to be established in eastern Europe. Having been invaded by Germany twice in less than twenty-five years, the Soviets believed that controlling eastern Europe was essential to their security. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin set up communist regimes in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania to serve as a buffer against any potential future invasion from the west. Germany was partitioned into communist and noncommunist areas, and the Soviet Union cut off access and communication between eastern and western Europe. The "iron curtain" had been erected. The United States protested Soviet domination of eastern Europe and developed a policy designed to contain further communist expansion. These events marked the beginning of the Cold War—a conflict fought with propaganda, arms buildups, and attempts to gain allies through the use of economic and military aid.

U.S. Policy of Containment. The United States tried to prevent further expansion of communism by "containing" it in territory that was already Soviet-controlled. Containment was carried out on three fronts: (1) economic aid to rebuild western Europe; (2) military assistance to governments challenged by communists; and (3) the creation in 1949 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to serve as a security curtain around western Europe.

In response to containment, the Soviet Union tightened its grip on eastern Europe. Soviet troops were stationed in Czechoslovakia, Poland, East

Russia During the Bolshevik Revolution

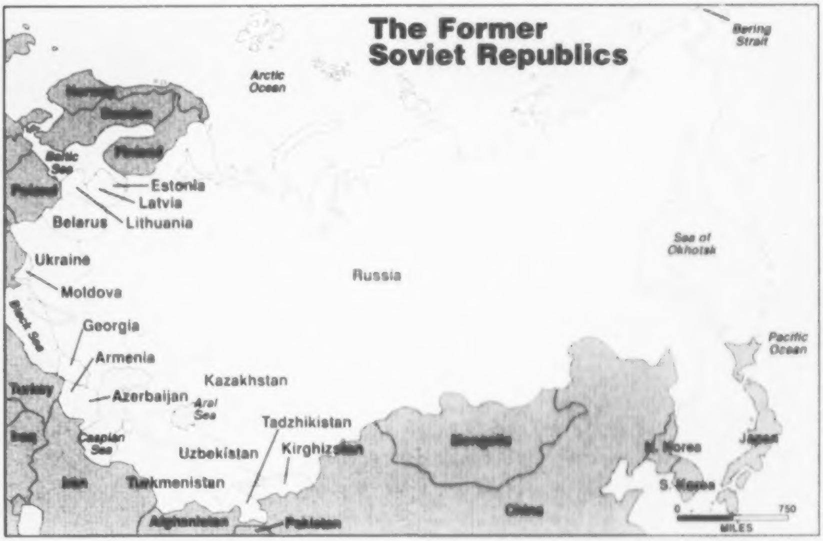
In 1917, Russia was in a state of turmoil, brought on by poverty, labor unrest, and the loss of life in World War I. The majority of Russians were serfs—peasants who served wealthy landowners—and the country's economy lagged far behind the economies of western Europe and the United States. Russia's czars led luxurious lives and held absolute, unrestricted power. Led by Vladimir Lenin, the Bolsheviks (later renamed the Communist Party) capitalized on the social unrest and public disapproval of the czar and staged the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The Russian people overthrew their ruler, Czar Nicholas II, and implemented sweeping reforms based on the economic theories of Karl Marx. The Soviet Union was created in 1922.

Germany, Hungary, and Romania to ensure that the leaders of those countries remained loyal to Moscow. Seven years after NATO was formed, the Soviets and their eastern European allies created the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance similar to NATO.

The Domino Theory. The United States and the Soviet Union were committed to defending their respective "spheres of influence." Many U.S. leaders believed in the "domino theory," which held that if one country fell to communism, its neighbors would soon follow. In 1949, the Soviet Union gained influence in Asia by becoming allies with Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong. In 1950, the Soviets backed a communist North Korean invasion of South Korea, prompting the United States to send troops in cooperation with the United Nations to repel the invasion. Although the war ended in stalemate, the United States demonstrated that it would fight communist aggression around the world. When communist revolutionary Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba in 1959, he soon turned to the Soviet Union for support. Throughout much of the 1960s and early

National Archives

During the early 1960s, the Soviet Union was led by Nikita Khrushchev (pictured here). Khrushchev and U.S. President John Kennedy had tense standoffs over the division of Berlin and the issue of Soviet missles in Cuba.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1970s, the Soviets backed North Vietnam in its fight to unify Vietnam under communist rule. The United States helped defend South Vietnam with troops and military aid, but in 1975, communists took over South Vietnam, thereby extending Soviet influence in Southeast Asia.

The Cuban Missile Crisis. In October 1962, the United States discovered that the Soviet Union was secretly constructing launching pads for nuclear missiles in Cuba. For seven days, President John Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev engaged in a tense standoff. Nuclear confrontation appeared imminent. Finally, the Soviets agreed to dismantle the missile sites in Cuba. The scare of the Cuban missile crisis created a thaw in the Cold War and led to the signing of a treaty between the two countries limiting tests of nuclear weapons.

The 1970s and Detente. Detente (a French word meaning "a relaxation of tensions") reflected the belief that both the United States and the Soviet Union would benefit from maximizing cooperation and minimizing conflict. Between 1972 and 1974, the two nations signed eleven agreements to cooperate in space exploration, agriculture, health, environmental protection, and other areas. Trade opened up, and American corporations and banks established offices in Moscow.

SALT I. The centerpiece of detente was the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) Treaty, signed by President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev in 1972. The most important part of the SALT I agreement was its limitation of antiballistic missile (ABM) systems. ABMs are defensive weapons designed to intercept and destroy enemy missiles before they reach their targets. Both Americans and Soviet officials feared that if either side developed an impenetrable defense system, war would be more likely because one country would be able to attack the other without fear of retaliation.

Helsinki Accords. In 1975, leaders from the United States, the Soviet Union, Canada, and thirty-five European countries gathered in Finland to sign the Helsinki Accords. Under this set of agreements, the West—led by the United States—officially recognized the post-World War II borders of eastern Europe. In return, the Soviet Union promised to increase intellectual freedom and human rights within the eastern bloc.

SALT II. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter and Soviet Premier Brezhnev signed the second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) Treaty. However, during Senate ratification hearings, many U.S. senators said they believed that the treaty made too many concessions to the Soviets, and some expressed concern about the Soviet Union spreading its influence into other areas of the world. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, President Carter withdrew the treaty from consideration by the Senate. The Soviets felt betrayed, and U.S.-Soviet relations deteriorated.

New Soviet Leadership. In 1982, President Ronald Reagan proposed the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) to discuss reducing both sides' arsenals of intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. When no agreement could be reached, however, the Soviets walked out of START negotiations.

After a tense beginning of the 1980s, U.S.-Soviet relations entered a historic phase in 1985. In March of that year, Mikhail Gorbachev became the new Soviet leader. Gorbachev brought pragmatic leadership to the Soviet government and made changes in his country's relations with the United States, in its foreign policy toward other communist states, and in its own economic and political systems.

Gorbachev met often with President Reagan to improve relations between the two countries. In 1987, the two leaders signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the first major arms control agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union in eight years. The INF Treaty called for both nations to destroy intermediate-range nuclear weapons—more than 1,900 for the Soviet Union and 800 for the United States.

Communism Falls in Eastern Europe. In 1989, communist governments in six eastern European countries gave up power after thousands of their citizens demonstrated in favor of democracy and free-market economies. Mikhail Gorbachev refrained from sending in troops to keep the communists in power as other Soviet leaders had done in the past. The Berlin Wall, which had divided East and West Berlin for almost thirty years, was taken down. The Soviets later agreed to allow the unification of East and West Germany, and in 1991, Gorbachev disbanded the Warsaw Pact military alliance.

The Breakup of the Soviet Union, 1990-91

Economic and Political Turmoil. Mikhail Gorbachev's popularity at home suffered as the Soviet economy grew worse because of high rates of inflation, obsolete factories, food shortages, and an unstable currency. Despite the Soviet leader's introduction of limited free-market reforms, the inefficient centrally controlled system remained largely intact.

Gorbachev opened the political system to allow parties opposed to communist rule to compete in local elections. Prodemocracy candidates won major victories in 1990 elections, such as former Moscow Communist Party chief Boris Yeltsin, who was elected president of the Soviet republic of Russia. Yeltsin quickly became Gorbachev's chief political rival.

Also in 1990, independence movements swept through the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. These states had been incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940 through a pact between Joseph Stalin and Adolf Hitler. When Lithuania and Latvia attempted to break away from the Soviet Union, they received worldwide support. However, Gorbachev refused to recognize their actions, and Soviet troops were sent to crack down on the growing independence movements. These events demonstrated that it was going to be difficult for Gorbachev to strike a balance between promoting democracy in the Soviet Union and keeping the union together. The Baltic states and other republics persisted in their efforts to secede from the Soviet Union.

Terry Arthur/The White House

After becoming leader of the Soviet Union in March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev introduced historic economic and social reforms. These reforms triggered independence movements across the Soviet republics, leading to the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

The August Coup. By early 1991, the Baltics and three other Soviet republics had declared independence. Meanwhile, the nine remaining Soviet republics demanded more autonomy. However, hard-line communists were disturbed over the direction the Soviet Union was taking. Eastern Europe was no longer under Soviet control, free-market economics threatened to dismantle communism, and the union was in jeopardy.

In August 1991, hard-liners in the government arrested Gorbachev and took control of the country. Russian President Boris Yeltsin immediately mobilized opposition, which quickly spread throughout the country. After only three days, the coup collapsed. Gorbachev returned to power, but his authority and credibility as a leader had been irreparably damaged.

More republics announced their independence after the failed coup. Yeltsin, a national hero, was seen as the leader who could guide the republics toward independence and economic and political renewal.

The Commonwealth of Independent States. Although Mikhail Gorbachev was prepared to give the republics even more autonomy, he hoped to hold the Soviet Union together. However, on December 21, 1991, Russia's Yeltsin and the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus created the Commonwealth of Independent States and declared that the Soviet Union no longer existed.

With no country left over which to preside, Gorbachev announced his resignation as the last leader of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991. He relinquished control of the Soviet nuclear arsenal to Yeltsin. Eventually, eleven of the fifteen former Soviet republics joined the Commonwealth of Independent States. The republics pledged to implement free-market economic reforms, respect the territorial integrity of the other states, and guarantee their citizens equal rights and freedoms. Western nations immediately recognized the governments of Russia and the other former Soviet republics.

Reuters/Bettmann

Russian consumers still face long lines to purchase food and other goods at markets. High inflation has made it difficult for most citizens to buy the everyday necessities of life.

Economic and Political Chaos in Russia

Yeltsin vs. Parliament. In 1992 and 1993, Boris Yeltsin took steps to turn Russia into a democratic and economically prosperous member of the international community. However, his free-market economic reforms did little to ease inflation and unemployment in Russia, creating social unrest throughout the country. Communist hardliners in the Russian parliament challenged Yeltsin's presidential authority and made it virtually impossible, many believed, for economic and democratic progress to be made.

The conflict between Yeltsin and the Russian parliament (the Congress of People's Deputies) emerged immediately after Yeltsin was elected president in 1992. Instead of calling for new parliamentary elections, Yeltsin chose to leave in place a legislature that had been elected in 1990, when the Communist Party still dominated Russian politics. From the outset of Yeltsin's presidency, he fought with communists and nationalists in the parliament who were opposed to his economic and democratic reforms. Reformers in the Russian government wanted President Yeltsin to be given special powers to push through his economic program. But hard-liners said the power of the government should be given to, or at least shared by, the parliament. They believed the parliament should be able to curtail possible abuses of presidential powers.

Siege on Parliament. The hard-liners in the parliament, led by Alexander Rutskoi, vowed never to surrender their power and even succeeded in rolling back some of Yeltsin's reforms. The tensions between the Russian president and the antireform politicians escalated into a dramatic showdown in the fall of 1993 when Yeltsin dissolved the parliament and announced elections to pick a new body would be held in December. Parliament responded by voting to impeach Yeltsin and naming Rutskoi as acting president. Rutskoi and his supporters barricaded themselves in the Russian parliament building, which is called the White House. The standoff between the Russian president and the hard-liners ended in early October when Russian troops took over the building and arrested Rutskoi and his supporters.

Because the old parliament had been eliminated, the West hoped that Yeltsin would be able to consolidate his power and push through economic and democratic reforms without fear of another political uprising. Before Russia could embark on more reform, however, a new and—preferable to the West—pro-Yeltsin parliament had to be elected by the people.

Parliamentary Elections. As promised, Boris Yeltsin held elections on December 13, 1993. Russian voters had two tasks: (1) choose one of thirteen parties to represent them in the new parliament, and (2) approve or reject a new Russian constitution that would give the president expanded powers. For Yeltsin, the results of the election were mixed. The new constitution was approved, giving the Russian president enormous powers. However, in the parliamentary elections, Russia's Choice, the proreform party, came in second to the nationalist Liberal Democratic Party. The Communist Party followed close behind in third place.

The emergence of the Liberal Democrats and their leader Vladimir Zhirinovsky is seen by most as an ominous sign that the Russian people are growing weary of Yeltsin's reforms. Experts believe that his economic program had better show results soon. If it fails, Zhirinovsky—who many have called a racist and a fascist—could be a strong candidate for Russian president in 1996.

War in Chechnya. President Yeltsin faced another major crisis in 1994. For many years, long before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the predominantly Muslim region of Chechnya (located in southern Russia) has resisted rule from Moscow. The region's bid for independence was renewed in August 1994 when the proindependence Congress of the Chechen People clashed with the opposition Moscow-backed Provisional Council, who wanted

In January 1995, President Boris Yeltsin ordered Russian troops and tanks into Chechnya to suppress a rebellion. Here, a Chechen man sits by the ruins of his home, which was destroyed by Russian bombs.

Reuters/Bettmann

Chechnya to remain a part of Russia. In a show of support for the Provisional Council and to crack down on the independence movement, Yeltsin-backed troops attacked the Chechen capital of Grozny. In December 1994 and January 1995, when both sides refused to yield, Yeltsin sent in more than 40,000 Russian troops and armored vehicles to suppress Chechen fighters, resulting in thousands of deaths. Although the Russian army was expected to eventually prevail, the strength and determination of the rebels surprised everyone.

The Russian attack on Chechnya was denounced by many in the international community; even the Clinton administration, a loyal ally of the Russian president, criticized Yeltsin's action. By early 1995, Yeltsin had become increasingly isolated from the reformers in the government. Many world leaders wondered if Yeltsin had become an authoritarian leader, no longer committed to democracy.

Economic "Shock Therapy." The major contributor to the growing frustration and anger of the Russian people toward the Yeltsin government is the poor state of the Russian economy. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, industrial production has dropped 40 percent, and unemployment has risen to almost 10 percent. In 1994, the inflation rate was 300 percent. Four out of five Russians are said to be living below the poverty level. Because many Russians believe that the economy has gotten worse than it ever was under communist control, Yeltsin's economic "shock therapy"—radical measures to quickly transform Russia's centrally controlled economy into a free-market system—has come under fire by many people and members of parliament.

Lifting Price Controls. The emphasis of economic "shock therapy" is on lifting state price controls. Under communism, the government determined what products would be produced, for whom they would be produced, and at what price.

Lifting price controls would let the free-market principle of supply and demand dictate what goods are produced. Yeltsin hoped it would promote competition and coax more goods into the stores. However, when controls were lifted on January 2, 1992, prices rose dramatically. By the end of the year, Russia was threatened with hyperinflation. Yeltsin's opponents said his economic plan was a failure and called for the reinstatement of price controls to curb inflation.

Privatization. President Yeltsin also implemented the most ambitious privatization program in history—the selling of state-owned assets to Russian citizens to encourage worker ownership and entrepreneurship. Workers and managers were permitted to purchase shares of stock in their plants with vouchers. Each Russian citizen received a voucher, or as Yeltsin explained, "a ticket for each of us to a market economy." Russians could use these vouchers (worth about 10,000 rubles or three months wages for the average citizen) to either bid for stocks in companies or trade them in for cash. Many economists questioned the value of a program that in effect was giving away state property. An underlying purpose of the plan was to build public support for Yeltsin's programs. Privatization has promoted a great deal of entrepreneurship, which has created many new businesses throughout Russia. However, the largest and most inefficient state-owned industries have yet to be privatized. Shutting such huge factories, many reformers fear, will worsen unemployment and contribute to the country's social unrest.

A large portion of the Russian population believes that the transition to a free-market system is not worth the pain it is inflicting on the country. The opposition Yeltsin faces in the legislature and in the streets threatens to ruin Russia's democratic and capitalist experiments, sending the country into chaos. Many experts warn that a hard-line

Crime in Russia

The Russian people have discovered that one of the prices of a more open society is violent crime. The political, economic, and social chaos that has marred Russia's transition to a free-market, democratic country has contributed to a dramatic increase in murders, rapes, and robberies. Overall, the crime rate has doubled since the late 1980s. Almost 4 million crimes were committed in Russia in 1994. In addition, in the first three months of 1994, Russia averaged more than eighty murders a day, most of them as a result of organized crime.

authoritarian government—possibly led by nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky—could emerge from the wreckage.

Current Issues

U.S. Support of Boris Yeltsin. When Boris Yeltsin became president of Russia in 1991, the United States viewed him as Russia's best hope for democracy and a free-market economy. Although hard-liners in the Russian parliament have challenged his power and questioned his fitness for office, the United States and other Western nations have stood behind President Boris Yeltsin in the Russian leader's battle with communists and nationalists in the parliament.

However, many Russians blame Yeltsin for the high crime and corruption rates and the country's poor economic performance. Yeltsin's popularity has sunk to such low levels in Russia that many U.S. lawmakers believe that the time has come to reevaluate America's support for Yeltsin. Critics say that Yeltsin is becoming increasingly antidemocratic in his treatment of political opponents, witnessed most recently in Russia's assault on the breakaway republic of Chechnya. Many observers believe that Yeltsin has practically becomea dictator and has begun to retreat from his economic program to satisfy hardliners in the Russian parliament. These critics wonder at what point the Clinton administration will withdraw or at least modify its support of Yeltsin should he become more authoritarian. They think the Clinton administration should begin establishing ties with true reformers and moderates in the Russian government.

Supporters of current U.S. policy toward Russia argue that the measures taken by Yeltsin may be undemocratic, but are only for the short term. In the long term, abolishing a communist and

The White House

Despite his troubles at home, Russian President Boris Yeltsin (left) has won the support of President Bill Clinton. Many members of Congress, however, believe Yeltsin has become isolated in Russia and can no longer lead his country.

nationalist legislature and stopping breakaway republics from seceding will create a more stable democracy and economy. Backing away from Yeltsin, many experts argue, will further weaken him politically at home and give comfort to unpredictable politicians like Zhirinovsky. Supporters of President Clinton's policy argue that there is currently no real alternative to Yeltsin in Russia, and that the United States should support him until he completely abandons democracy and capitalism.

Economic Aid. The United States has invested more than $4 billion in the rebuilding of Russia. However, uncertainty over Russia's political future has intensified debate over continued U.S. economic aid.

Seventy years of a centrally controlled economy and a stalled reform program left Russia's economy in ruins. Runaway inflation and high unemployment loom over Russia's future. Many experts say that without a strong Western aid strategy, reformers in the government cannot build the political support necessary to fight off procommunist hard-liners who want to block free-market reforms.

In 1992, fifty countries and international agencies stepped up relief to help the former Soviet republics overcome critical shortages of food, shelter, and energy resources. Although this aid helped Russia and the other republics survive the winter shortages of food and medicine, it did little to stabilize Russia's economy. Yeltsin warned that his government and the economic reform program were in jeopardy if the United States and other Western nations did not increase aid.

In 1992 and 1993, Congress approved more than $4 billion in assistance to Russia as the U.S. contribution to a $24 billion international aid package. Russia has received $58 billion over the past two years in direct aid, debt rescheduling, trade credits, and other assistance programs.

Supporters of this package argue that increased aid to Russia, although a burden on the U.S. budget, is a fraction of what the Cold War cost. Proponents of increased aid concede that it will not turn Russia's economy around overnight, but say it will give the embattled Yeltsin the political support necessary to carry out his reforms.

However, economic aid to Russia has many skeptics. They maintain that the corruption and inefficiency of the old Soviet system are still in place. Critics argue that funneling aid into Russia would therefore waste valuable American dollars. They argue that money should not be wasted on an unpopular leader whose reform plans are not working. In addition, some opponents contend that not one dollar of American money should go to bolster Russia's economy if that money could be used for improving health care, education, public works, and job training in the United States.

Russia's Constitution

In December 1993, Russian voters approved a new constitution. Similar to the U.S. Constitution in many ways, the Russian constitution defines the country as a democratic federal state and adopts many broad provisions that appear in the U.S. Bill of Rights. It upholds the principles of private property and freedom of speech and religion and guarantees protection from illegal search and seizure. However, unlike the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches in the United States, the Russian constitution gives the president powers to control the parliament—specifically the authority, under certain conditions, to dissolve the legislative body.

Nuclear Arms Control. In January 1993, Presidents George Bush and Boris Yeltsin signed the START II Treaty. Under this agreement, the

AP/Wide World Photos

After refusing to ratify the START arms control treaties in 1992, Ukraine agreed to dismantle its nuclear arsenal. Here, two workers direct a crane lowering a nuclear warhead onto a truck that will move weapons from Ukraine to Russia.

United States and Russia have reduced their nuclear arsenals to 3,500 and 3,000 warheads, respectively—a 50 percent reduction from the levels of the START I Treaty signed in July 1991. START II brings Russia's arsenal back to where it was in the 1970s and returns the United States nuclear arsenal back to 1960s levels.

Ratification and implementation of START II were difficult. Ukraine, one of the other former Soviet republics besides Russia that housed nuclear weapons, resisted ratifying the agreement. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk asked for economic aid to dismantle the weapons and compensation for the expensive fuel contained in the warheads in exchange for his compliance with the treaty. In January 1994, at a U.S.-Russia summit in Moscow, Kravchuk signed an agreement to dismantle his country's nuclear arsenal after the Clinton administration promised foreign aid. Russia is now the sole former Soviet republic with nuclear weapons.

With the disarmament of Ukraine, where does U.S.-Russian arms control go? Many U.S. officials say that the two sides can safely go below the new treaty's limits on warheads. Supporters of deeper cuts argue that a large nuclear arsenal in today's world is dangerous, expensive, and, given the dissolution of the Soviet Union, obsolete. They say that the United States and Russia should set an example for the world by further dismantling their arsenals and concentrating on stopping the spread of nuclear materials worldwide. At the 1994 Moscow summit, the United States and Russia also signed an agreement to aim their nuclear missiles away from one another.

However, skeptics of deeper reductions in the U.S. nuclear arsenal respond that if a hard-line anti-Western Russian politician comes to power in Moscow, Russia's missiles can very quickly be retargeted back at the United States. It is Russia's political instability that concerns arms reduction opponents. They believe the United States should keep a sizable arsenal in case the next Russian president is hostile to the West. Many U.S. officials say that the United States should not proceed with any further arms reduction talks with Russia until hard-line communist and nationalist politicians in the government pose no threat to Russian democracy.

Outlook

Many U.S. officials believe that the struggle of Boris Yeltsin underscores the uncertainty of democracy's future in Russia. Under threat from the formidable presence of communists and nationalists and now even his former reformist allies, and with the discontent rising on Russian streets, Yeltsin is under great pressure to end his country's staggering economic hardship. Western nations fear that if positive results do not happen soon, antireformers may capitalize on popular discontent to topple Yeltsin. Most policymakers agree that it is in the best interest of the United States that Yeltsin succeed. The Russian president's good relations with the United States have produced sweeping nuclear arms control agreements, and he remains the only political figure in Russia with which the United States and its allies are comfortable. Despite the goodwill between the two countries, the United States has yet to decide how much it is willing to sacrifice to help Russia become a democratic and economically stable society.

The Debate

Russia

The United States Should Continue to Support Boris Yeltsin.

PRO

Boris Yeltsin remains Russia's best hope for democratic and economic reform. Some of the Russian president's actions may not be democratic, but they were taken to root out communist and nationalist forces in the government. Yeltsin promised parliamentary elections and he delivered. Because his proreform party did not do as well as expected, it is essential that the United States maintain its strong support for Yeltsin, now that he faces unfriendly antireform forces in the parliament.

CON

Boris Yeltsin is a weakened and probably ineffective leader. This status is confirmed by the Chechen conflict. Yeltsin has displayed a disturbing authoritarian side, which is ominous for Russian democracy. It is time for the United States to begin establishing ties to other reform-minded politicians in Russia who do not share Yeltsin's authoritarian tendencies. The United States should not support any leader, even a capitalist, who uses force to suppress political opposition.

The United States Should Send Economic Aid to Russia.

PRO

U.S. aid would help establish democracy in Russia by helping it transform to a free-market system. If the United States stands on the sidelines and does nothing, Russia's fragile democratic free-market experiment could collapse in the face of mounting domestic unrest, leaving the door open for the return of a hard-line communist or nationalist government.

CON

U.S. aid to Russia would be wasted because of the continuing inefficiency there. In addition, aid should be delayed until Boris Yeltsin is able to beat back communist and nationalist forces in his parliament. The United States can no longer afford to spend millions of dollars on foreign aid, especially on a country whose government is so unstable.

The United States Should Further Reduce Its Nuclear Arsenal.

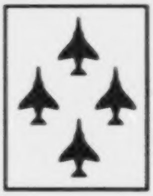
PRO

The United States and Russia should continue to reduce their nuclear arsenals. If both sides cut their strategic arsenals below 3,000 warheads, they would be on the way to total nuclear disarmament. This would lead to global disarmament. As long as the United States and Russia maintain sizable arsenals, other nations will work to obtain nuclear capability.

CON

The United States should not make additional cuts below START II levels. The stability of the former Soviet Union's arsenal is still in doubt, and communists and nationalists in Russia are still powerful. As the world's only superpower, the United States should maintain a substantial strategic edge over other nations who have nuclear weapons.

Defense



The U.S. military underwent dramatic changes in the early 1990s as it adjusted to new leaders, new budgetary constraints, new types of missions, and new policies regarding women and homosexuals. Nevertheless, U.S. armed forces remained active around the world, often in nontraditional humanitarian and peacekeeping missions.

Recent interventions in Somalia, Rwanda, and Haiti prompted many Americans to question whether the U.S. military should be involved in the expensive, often dangerous businesses of peacekeeping and humanitarian aid. Most Americans, like U.S. policymakers themselves, are struggling to define which allies and conflicts are most important to U.S. interests now that the Cold War is over.

During the Cold War, U.S. nuclear and conventional forces were developed to defend against the Soviet Union and its allies. President Ronald Reagan increased U.S. defense spending in the 1980s to an all-time high.

Several years after the demise of the Cold War and the Soviet Union, President Bill Clinton has cut the defense budget. Although most agree that cuts are necessary, many Americans argue that the administration's reductions in the military are too deep. Controversy also surrounds the nature of the U.S. military's mission. If the U.S. military continues to get involved in civil unrest and famine relief in war-torn countries, some worry that American troops may become a global police force. These are some of the many issues U.S. policymakers have to address as they define America's place in a world without the Soviet Union.

Key Questions

- Should the U.S. defense budget be reduced?
- Should the U.S. military be used as a police force in troubled areas?
- Should Congress be the final decisionmaker on the use of U.S. troops?

Background

U.S. Defense Policy

What Type of Military Does the United States Need? Currently, the United States has about 1.7 million men and women serving in the air force, army, navy, and marine corps. These troops, with their weapons and equipment, support the nation's military goals. For many years, those goals have been to defend the United States, deter (prevent) nuclear war, protect western Europe from attack, provide forces in support of U.S. foreign policy, and ensure freedom of the seas. In addition, the United States belongs to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance that includes Canada, most of western Europe, Greece, and Turkey.

The United States spends billions of dollars each year maintaining a strong defense to deter other nations from attacking. Political and military leaders want potential enemies to know that if the United States is attacked, it will repel the invasion and defeat the attacking country. The United States also uses its armed forces to demonstrate its power and protect its international interests by helping to maintain stable and friendly governments around the world.

In the past, U.S. forces were trained to defend against one main enemy—the Soviet Union. Leaders in the Soviet Union and the United States believed that the national interests of their nations were in direct conflict. For forty-five years, the two superpowers competed for military dominance, influence, and power, fueling a Cold War that shaped worldwide defense strategies and relations.

Now that the Soviet Union has dissolved and the Cold War is over, the former Soviet republics and allies are beginning to look and act more like their Western counterparts. Their governments

Department of Defense

The U.S. military is in the midst of dramatic downsizing. Military personnel and weaponry are being cut back to adapt to the post-Cold War world.

allow more freedom, permit opposition political parties, hold democratic elections, and work to establish market economies. With the old enemy now more like an ally, some think the current defense structure of the United States may no longer be useful.

Because the threat of a major superpower conflict has lessened, many Americans assert that the military must redefine its mission by deemphasizing the protection of Europe and focusing on defending other U.S. interests and allies around the globe. However, Americans disagree over what those interests are and who those allies are.

Defending Allies. Defending western Europe against communist aggression was central to U.S. defense strategy during the Cold War. At the outbreak of the Persian Gulf War in 1991, the United States had more than 200,000 troops in Europe. That number was reduced when many military units were transferred from Europe to the Middle East and then back to the United States as part of a plan to reduce overall U.S. troop strength in Europe to less than 100,000 by 1995.

The Pentagon, near Washington, D.C., serves as headquarters for the U.S. Department of Defense. From here, plans are made to carry out the main duties of the nation's armed forces, including defending the United States and its allies, deterring nuclear war, ensuring freedom of the seas, and providing armed support for U.S. foreign policy efforts.

Department of Defense

Since the collapse of the Soviet-led military alliance, the Warsaw Pact, many eastern European countries and former Soviet republics have expressed interest in joining NATO. Hesitant to isolate Russia, the United States and other NATO members offered more than twenty eastern European nations and former Soviet republics a "partnership" with NATO in 1993. Moreover, in June 1994, NATO members extended partnership to Russia as well, arguing that NATO can now help eastern and western Europe integrate. NATO partners can carry out joint military exercises with NATO members, and partners have agreed to open their military records for inspection. NATO may eventually accept these partners as full members if the partnership program is successful.

Along with protecting NATO members, the United States is also committed by treaty to defend other allies around the world, including Japan, South Korea, and many Latin American countries. Thousands of U.S. troops are still stationed in Japan and South Korea.

Reagan's Defense Buildup. In 1981, when Ronald Reagan became president, the annual defense budget was $180 billion. By the end of his presidency in 1988, it had grown to $299 billion. The Department of Defense used this money to purchase 90 new warships, 4,000 tanks, and hundreds of modern warplanes. The Pentagon also developed new weapons such as the MX, Midgetman, and Trident D-5 missiles and the B-1 and B-2 (Stealth) bombers. Reagan also proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or "Star Wars" program, which was designed to be a defense system in space. Amid criticism from scientists and lawmakers about SDI's value, the budget for the project has been greatly reduced.

Use of Force. During the Cold War, the United States often used military force to support pro-American governments fighting communist-backed invasions or insurrections. In 1950, when communist North Korea invaded noncommunist South Korea, the United States entered the war—as the main part of a United Nations "police force"—to defend the South Koreans. In 1954, when it appeared that the army of communist revolutionary Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam would take over South Vietnam, the United States entered what proved to be a twenty-one-year involvement with immense human and monetary costs. Perceptions of a communist threat also led to U.S. interventions in Guatemala (1954), Lebanon (1958), Cuba (1961), the Dominican Republic (1965), and Grenada (1983).

The United States became more reluctant to flex its muscles after the Vietnam War. But when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, U.S. officials renewed their commitment to a military that was capable of protecting American interests around the world.

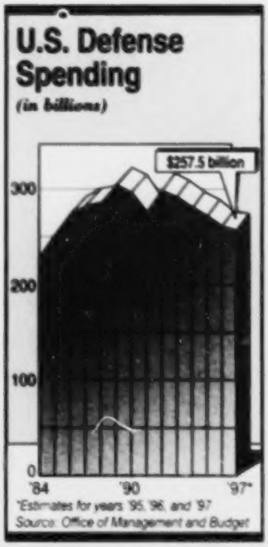
In the fall of 1990, the United States and its allies responded to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait by sending nearly 500,000 troops to Saudi Arabia to force Iraqi troops to withdraw. In February 1991, after six weeks of bombing raids, U.S. forces and soldiers from other nations met Iraqi invaders on the ground in Kuwait. Within 100 hours, Iraq's forces had fled Kuwait, and President George Bush ordered a cease-fire.

A Smaller Defense. With successful multilateral action in the Persian Gulf War and the fall of communism across Europe, the U.S. military searches for a new focus. Some military analysts and government officials say the United States should drop expensive, high-technology weapons systems in favor of more practical and cost-effective military hardware.

For example, some lawmakers think the Stealth bomber, costing about $1 billion per plane, is too expensive and that less expensive warplanes are just as effective. Thus, policymakers have cut back on orders for Stealth bombers. Congress has also debated cancelling production of Seawolf nuclear submarines, which can cost up to $2 billion each to build. Congress plans further reductions in the number of aircraft carriers, helicopters, and troops. Officials plan to cut approximately 500,000 servicemen and women from the armed forces in the next few years. Defense planners call these measures part of a "bottom-up review" process, whereby the U.S. military is scaling back its forces and budget while maintaining the ability to fight two major regional wars and a third, smaller conflict, all at the same time.

Some officials say even deeper cutbacks are necessary to bring the scale of defense in line with current U.S. needs. President Bill Clinton's proposed defense budget for fiscal year 1996 called for $262.2 billion, $10 billion less than his budget in fiscal year 1995.

Of course, the military has felt the effects of decreased defense spending. In late 1994, Secretary of Defense William Perry announced that the ability of the U.S. military to respond to a large-scale war was in doubt. Unwilling to return to the



*Estimates for years '95, '96, and '97
Source: Office of Management and Budget

In the 1980s, the United States defense budget increased rapidly. However, in 1994, defense spending decreased to $282 billion, and it is estimated to fall to $272 billion in 1995.

reduced military strength of the 1970s, Republican lawmakers criticized President Clinton's reductions in defense spending and decisions to send U.S. soldiers to quell regional crises in Rwanda and Haiti. Clinton responded by promising a six-year, $25 billion increase in defense spending to enhance the military's readiness. In addition, the president asked Congress to enact an emergency $2.3 billion to reimburse the Pentagon for money used for unexpected overseas missions.

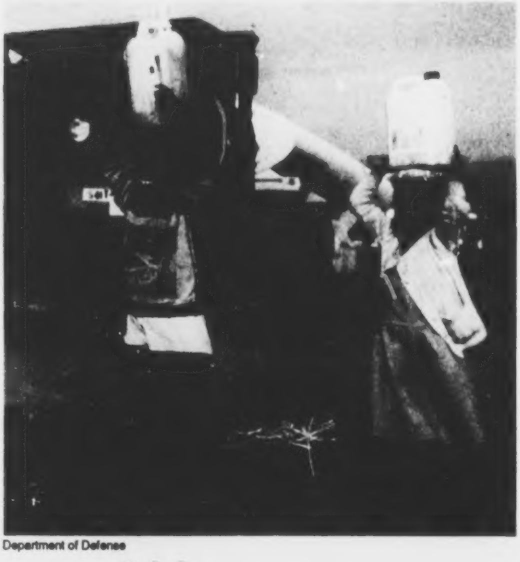
The War Powers Resolution. The Constitution names the president commander in chief of the military, but gives Congress the power to declare war. Since the end of World War II, presidents have sent U.S. military forces to other countries on several occasions without Congress declaring war.

In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Congress passed the War Powers Resolution of 1973—over the veto of President Richard Nixon. Nixon and succeeding presidents believed that the resolution was unconstitutional and a dangerous limitation of presidential power. This law gave Congress more control over the president's use of troops. It requires the president to advise Congress before sending troops to a potential combat zone, places a time limit on the use of troops without approval from Congress or a declaration of war, and gives Congress the power to order the president to bring the troops home.

Current Issues

Cutting the Defense Budget. Democrats and Republicans have long disagreed over budgetary issues, especially defense spending. After big reductions in defense spending in the early 1990s, many Democrats contend that defense spending needs to be further reduced, while most Republicans say that current spending levels should be maintained. Few Americans would argue that there is a need for a Cold War-size U.S. military, but many fear that reducing the budget too fast and too soon could jeopardize the nation's readiness if an international crisis erupts. Those who favor deep reductions in defense spending argue that the United States can be more than adequately prepared even with deep reductions.

Cutting the defense budget constituted a large part of President Clinton's 1993 deficit reduction package. Supporters of the president's plan argue that the military, like all other government programs, must reduce its spending to help reduce the federal budget deficit. They contend that money spent on defense would be better used on domestic programs such as housing, education, and crime prevention. Advocates of deep defense cuts also argue that by investing heavily in the development and construction of tanks, ships, and other weapons, American industries have lagged behind other countries in industrial technology and the manufacture of consumer products. With fewer



Department of Defense

In 1994 a civil war in Central Africa drove some 2.4 million Rwandan refugees into neighboring countries, creating famine, sanitation problems, and disease. Despite concern over using U.S. troops in humanitarian missions, the Clinton administration sent 4,000 U.S. troops to help relief efforts. In this picture, both Rwandan children and UN tanker trucks carry water to refugee camps.

resources committed to defense, they say, U.S. companies could become more competitive in the global market.

Opponents of further reductions in the defense budget counter by saying that defense spending is too important to cut. They point to Secretary of Defense William Perry's announcement in late 1994 that the nation's preparedness was at risk due to large budget reductions and unexpected outlays for regional interventions. Perry said that present spending levels were not high enough to enable the U.S. military to fight two large conflicts and a third, smaller one, as planned in the "bottom-up review" process. Critics of reductions in defense spending argue that the United States must be prepared if hard-line communists or other extremists return to power in Russia or the former Soviet republics. Additionally, they say that President Clinton's willingness to expand the projected defense budget was an admission that he had reduced defense spending too much already.

Furthermore, supporters of a strong defense contend that defense spending cannot be further reduced without compromising America's economic stability. Some members of Congress have opposed reductions in defense spending because such cuts have closed military bases and harmed defense contractors in their home states and districts. Beyond that, many fear that drastic reductions would severely harm the entire American economy.

The Changing Mission of the U.S. Military. As the former Soviet republics implement democratic and economic reforms, the military threat from that region has been greatly reduced, if not eliminated. Consequently, some argue the United States now needs to restructure its armed forces. They say that smaller, regional battles will require equipment and training that are different from the defense systems developed to deter the Soviet

Union. These officials want the Defense Department to budget more money for combating illegal drug traffic, fighting terrorism, preparing soldiers for military conflicts in the developing world, and enforcing international law and peace.

Somalia. In December 1992, U.S. armed forces undertook an operation that provoked fierce debate over the role of the U.S. military. More than 25,000 troops were sent to Somalia to ease starvation by disarming warring gangs and protecting food supply routes. U.S. and other United Nations forces helped reduce starvation in Somalia, and in early 1993 most U.S. troops returned home. However, a few thousand remained as part of a United Nations peacekeeping force. Under the UN command, the mission in Somalia changed to include capturing Mohammed Aidid, a Somali warlord. U.S. troops clashed with Aidid's militia in October 1993, resulting in eighteen American deaths.

That incident led many Americans to demand that all U.S. troops be returned home. In addition, many people questioned the wisdom of placing U.S. forces under UN command. President Clinton withdrew all American troops from Somalia in the spring of 1994.

In response to widespread criticism of the operation in Somalia, the Clinton administration issued the first set of guidelines establishing when the U.S. military should participate in peacekeeping operations. Criteria include whether the mission would further U.S. interests; whether it has clear objectives; and whether there is congressional and popular support for the mission.

Haiti. Soon after these guidelines were created, President Clinton believed events in Haiti warranted U.S. military intervention. In 1991, Haiti's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was overthrown in a military coup. In 1994, when trade sanctions failed to oust the coup leaders, President Clinton threatened to invade Haiti. But an agreement with Haiti's mil-

AP/Wide World Photos

In September 1994, President Clinton sent 20,000 U.S. troops to Haiti to help return Haiti's president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to power. Critics argue that the U.S. military cannot afford to intervene in such expensive, often dangerous peacekeeping missions. Supporters said that the Haitian refugee problem made U.S. involvement imperative.

itary leadership brought 20,000 U.S. troops to Haiti in September 1994 as a police force. Their goal was to keep the peace while Aristide returned to power. The military leaders, including General Raoul Cedras, stepped down from power in October, and Aristide returned to Haiti two weeks later.

After President Aristide returned, some experts claimed that the difficulty of restoring democracy to Haiti had only just begun. Haiti's economy was shattered, and its leaders did not have the infrastructure or experience to carry out democracy. Some experts thought that violence there might continue as prodemocracy groups avenge violence inflicted upon them earlier by promilitary groups.

While some Americans thought the missions in Somalia and Haiti were successful, others criticized the violence and the unclear military objectives of peacekeeping. Moreover, critics estimate that operations in Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and Haiti could cost the U.S. military more than $3 billion. In order to fund these missions, experts say that the Department of Defense has taken money away from training, maintenance, and new weapons spending. Therefore, they argue that if the U.S. military continues to respond to peacekeeping and humanitarian crises, its long-range readiness and technological superiority will be jeopardized. Moreover, critics say that many regional crises are not crucial to U.S. interests and that they are not worth risking American lives.

However, other policymakers believe that multinational peacekeeping will be a valuable tool in containing or stopping future regional conflicts before they become larger ones. They argue that peacekeeping missions may be a compromise between multilateral invasions and complete inaction. Supporters of peacekeeping missions suggest that new procedures for funding these missions can be established. Moreover, they say that solving humanitarian and political crises is always in the U.S. national interest, as the United States is invariably affected by such problems.

Control Over U.S. Forces. For more than 200 years, Congress and presidents have disagreed over who has final control over the use of U.S. military forces. Some believe that the president, as the commander in chief, should be responsible for those decisions. These people argue that the president gets a wide range of informed opinions from many advisers before making such decisions. Supporters of presidential war powers claim that the general public does not have access to security information and should not be able to sway the opinions of congressional members on such matters. Further, they maintain that the congressional process is too lengthy to allow for effective decisionmaking in crisis situations.

Others believe that Congress should have the final say about when and where the U.S. military acts. Congressional committees have access to important information, and they represent the views of the American people. Therefore, they have the best knowledge on which to base such military decisions. Supporters of congressional war powers contend that Congress should be able to exercise this check on presidential powers because no one person, even the president, should be granted unrestricted decisionmaking on matters of world importance. They also point out that the Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war.

As more regional wars and humanitarian crises erupt, the Republican-controlled Congress and President Clinton will probably disagree over when and where to use U.S. military force. As events arise, Congress and the president must work together in deciding how to use the U.S. military.

Women in the Military

The number of women serving in the armed forces has risen from less than 2 percent in 1973 to almost 12 percent in 1994. As the number of women in the U.S. military has increased, so has the range of duties they perform. In a controversial move in 1993, President Clinton lifted the ban on women in combat aircraft, further expanding the kinds of combat services women may perform.

Outlook

Problems that confronted U.S. troops in Somalia and Haiti have intensified the debate over the role of the U.S. military in overseas crises. President Clinton and his defense and foreign policy advisers are faced with two important questions: What does "national security" mean in the 1990s, and how far can the defense budget be reduced before that security is jeopardized? Some Americans believe that the defense budget should not be cut further until the United States has clearly defined its foreign policy priorities. Others say further cuts need to be made to reduce the budget deficit. The new era in foreign relations brought on by the demise of the Soviet Union presents U.S. military planners with the challenge of restructuring their forces to prepare for future, unforeseen conflicts. Faced with a reduced defense budget and bitter debates over when and where to use military force, leaders will find that forging a new direction for the nation's defense will be no easy task.

The Debate

Defense

The U.S. Defense Budget Should Be Reduced.

PRO

The U.S. government spends too much money on defense. Because the threat from the former Soviet Union has decreased, the United States does not need to develop and buy more sophisticated weapons. The budget deficit requires reductions in all government programs, including defense. Defense cuts would allow more money to go to domestic programs such as housing and education.

CON

The government's first priority is to protect the national security of the United States; this requires money. Large defense cuts would threaten the United States' ability to respond to crises like the Persian Gulf War. The United States needs the most advanced military possible. Reducing defense spending would also cause layoffs and plant closings and adversely affect the slowly growing economy.

The U.S. Military Should Be Used as a Police Force in Troubled Areas.

PRO

With the end of the Cold War, the U.S. military must prepare to fight limited conflicts in world trouble spots. The threats from drug traffickers, terrorists, and unstable countries with sophisticated weapons are growing. As the only global superpower left, the United States must use its military might and capability to join the United Nations in addressing civil wars and human crises worldwide. To fight these new threats, the Pentagon must restructure some of its forces into rapidly deployable mobile units.

CON

American troops should not be the "global police force," nor should they become part of a multilateral United Nations army. Instead, the United States should maintain a military force adequate to defend its national security, and no more. Committing forces to regions of the world that are embroiled in civil war would lead to long-term U.S. military presence in those countries as well as American casualties. Restructuring the military would also cost money when the budget should be reduced.

Congress Should Be the Final Decisionmaker on the Use of U.S. Troops.

PRO

Because Congress has good information sources—both regarding national security and the will of the people—it should reserve the right to approve of presidential decisions to use U.S. military force. No one person, not even the president, should have unchecked power over matters of such worldwide importance. Presidents have sent troops into combat when the people have been opposed. U.S. troops need the support of the American people.

CON

The president has the best overall knowledge to make military decisions. The public does not have enough information to make national security decisions, even with Congress as its spokesperson. Furthermore, Congress is too large and too mired in bureaucracy to make quick decisions about national security. The American people should have faith in the commander in chief on decisions relating to defense and national security.

Latin America

During the 1980s, Latin America—Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean—suffered through ten years of economic decline, war, communist insurgencies, and political instability. Greatly concerned by the region's crises, U.S. leaders provided economic and military aid to Central American and Caribbean countries to keep communism out of the hemisphere.

By the beginning of the 1990s, Latin America began to undergo a democratic and economic transformation similar to the changes that swept across eastern Europe. Dictatorships fell and free-market economies began to take hold in many Latin American countries. Although political corruption and poverty remain, most experts agree that Latin America's progress has been remarkable.

A new economic and democratic era in Latin America provides opportunities for the United States to establish a mutually beneficial relationship with its neighbors to the south. President Bill Clinton is looking for ways to expand free trade beyond the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to include all of Latin America—a potential gold mine for U.S. exports. However, the recent economic crisis in Mexico reminds many U.S. policymakers that much of Latin America is still developing. Therefore, U.S. policymakers want to strike a balance in U.S. trade policies—encouraging some fledgling democracies through free trade, but also trading with stable, responsible governments.

Key Questions

- Should the United States lift its economic embargo against Cuba?
- Should the United States and Latin America establish a hemispheric free-trade zone?
- Should the United States use military force to protect democracy in Latin America?

Background

Mexico and Central America

Mexico. Although Mexico is part of North America, it has more in common with its neighbors to the south than with the United States and Canada. Mexico is Spanish-speaking, has a history of U.S. economic and military intervention, and faces economic problems including huge debts owed to foreign banks.

Modern Mexico emerged from a revolution in 1910 that overthrew dictator Porfirio Díaz. After several years of upheaval, a new constitution, adopted in 1917, gave rights to the nation's workers, started the process of land reform, and placed national resources under government control.

Mexico and the United States have had close relations for more than fifty years. The two countries share a 2,000-mile border, and Mexico is the United States' third-largest trading partner. In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect. The U.S. and Mexican governments cooperate in trying to solve problems such as drug trafficking into the United States, border crossing by illegal immigrants, and environmental issues.

Unlike many countries in Latin America, Mexico has been relatively stable politically. Since 1929, the government has been controlled by one party, the Institutional Revolution Party, known as the PRI. However, many experts say that the PRI has stayed in power through corruption and fraudulent elections. From 1988 to 1994, Mexico was led by President Carlos Salinas de Gotari, who radically reformed his country's economy and helped it establish a trading partnership with the United States and Canada that would result in the creation of NAFTA in 1992. Despite some improvements, Mexico's economy continued to lag because it

"Central" and "Latin" America

"Central America" is the term used to describe the countries north of South America and south of Mexico. These countries include Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. "Latin America" is a more general term that refers to countries in the Western Hemisphere where the people speak Spanish, Portuguese, and French—languages that stem from Latin. However, not all of Latin America is truly "Latin." For instance, Belize, a former British colony, uses English as its official language, and Dutch is spoken in Suriname.

United States
Mexico
Cuba
Jamaica
Haiti
Dominican Republic
Puerto Rico (U.S.)
Virgin Islands (U.S. & BR.)
Barbados
Belize
Honduras
Grenada
Guatemala
El Salvador
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
Ecuador
Venezuela
Trinidad and Tobago
Colombia
French Guiana (France)
Guyana
Suriname
Brazil
Peru
Bolivia
Latin America
Paraguay
Chile
Argentina
Uruguay
Map Area

funded its economic growth primarily through foreign loans rather than domestic growth. New Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León—also a member of the PRI—took office in December 1994 and promised to reform Mexico's economy and democracy. Most

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observers viewed Mexico's 1994 election as fair and open, an indication that Mexico's democratic process has already made progress.

However, Mexico's transformation into a prosperous and stable country suffered major setbacks in 1994 and 1995. In January 1994, rebels from the southern Mexican state of Chiapas staged a bloody rebellion, hoping to draw the Mexican government's attention to the plight of Indians, a struggle that continued into 1995. In addition, in March 1994, the PRI presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio was assassinated, and five months later, the PRI's second-in-command, Jose Franciso Ruiz Massieu, was also murdered. Both were allegedly killed by political foes.

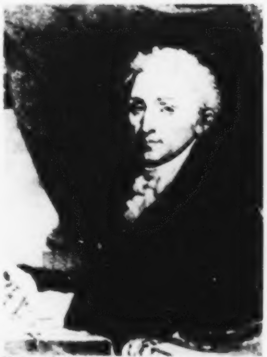
AP/Wide World Photos

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León (shown above) was elected president of Mexico on a platform of economic and political reform. These tasks have become especially daunting in light of the economic problems surrounding the peso devaluation.

Economic Crisis. In December 1994, President Zedillo lifted Mexico's fixed exchange rate against the U.S. dollar because the value of its currency—the peso—was inflated. In two weeks the peso lost 40 percent of its value against the U.S. dollar, resulting in an economic crisis. Mexico could not repay its loans when the value of those loans skyrocketed in relation to its devalued currency. The United States and other foreign governments provided $50 billion in loan guarantees to stabilize Mexico's battered and debt-ridden economy. In 1995, experts were unsure how long Mexico's economic crisis would last. However, a reduction in foreign investment signalled a long recovery for Mexico as well as slowing economic growth throughout Latin America.

El Salvador. In the 1980s, El Salvador was embroiled in a bloody civil war between the left-wing Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the right-wing Salvadoran military. The conflict erupted in 1979 over how to redistribute land that had been owned by only the richest families. These families were aligned with right-wing military officers who had ruled El Salvador for nearly fifty years.

Many groups vehemently opposed the government's land reform policy and used violence to force their views on the population. After twelve years of civil war and the deaths of 75,000 people, the FMLN and the government signed a peace accord in 1991. Since then, the government has tried to rebuild the country and economy under relatively peaceful conditions.



National Archives

In 1823, President James Monroe announced that the United States would regard any attempt by European countries to reestablish colonies in the Americas, or to intervene in the affairs of the Americas, as an act of hostility. This pronouncement, known as the Monroe Doctrine, demonstrated U.S. commitment to defend American interests in Latin America.

Nicaragua. After forty-five years of rule by the undemocratic and corrupt regime of the Somoza family, a civil war erupted in Nicaragua in 1977. The Somoza regime was overthrown by a popular opposition movement made up of a procommunist group—the Sandinista National Liberation Front—and several other political factions representing both impoverished Nicaraguans and the middle class. The Sandinista government, led by President Daniel Ortega, maintained close ties to the Soviet Union and Cuba and received billions of dollars in economic and military aid from these two nations. In response to Ortega's procommunist government, the United States enacted a trade embargo against Nicaragua and backed antigovernment rebels, known as the *contras.*

In 1989, Ortega agreed to a regional peace plan in which the *contra* forces would be disbanded if his government held democratic elections. Ortega lost that election to the U.S.-backed opposition candidate, Violeta Chamorro. Despite more than $1 billion in U.S. aid, Chamorro has been unable to repair the economy and remove Sandinistas from powerful government positions. Nevertheless, in November 1994, Nicaraguan lawmakers made sweeping changes to their constitution, including adding new rules about presidential candidates and creating a two-round voting system for future presidential ballots.

South America

South America is the fourth largest of the world's seven continents and is made up of thirteen nations with great geographic, climatic, and cultural diversity. Spain and Portugal ruled the region until the 1830s, when most South American countries won independence. For most of the twentieth century, political elites—primarily military officers—controlled the thirteen countries. Recently, democratic movements have brought free elections and free-market economic reform to the continent. However, poverty is widespread. The United States is encouraged by the democratization of South American countries and believes they offer significant markets for U.S. exports if economic reforms there continue.

Colombia. Located in the northwest of South America, Colombia, the oldest democracy on the continent, has been under constant siege for more than forty years. Colombia has a long history of violence, seen most vividly in recent years in the war between the government and the drug cartels. Colombia has been called the "cocaine capital of the world," responsible for growing and manufacturing 80 percent of the world supply. During the 1980s, drug traffickers wielded considerable power

The Andean countries of Peru and Colombia supply most of the world's coca leaf, which is used to make cocaine. Here, a South American police officer stands guard after raiding a camp in the jungle of Bolivia where cocaine was made.

AP/Wide World Photos

and terror in the country and were called by one Latin American journalist "a new economic class in Colombia." The most notorious drug kingpin was Pablo Escobar, who was head of the Medellín drug cartel. The Medellín cartel was known for kidnapping and murdering journalists, politicians, and judges. In 1993, Escobar was shot to death after escaping from prison in 1992. However, experts believe that Escobar's death did not deal a fatal blow to Colombia's drug trade.

Brazil. Brazil, a former Portugese colony, is by far the largest country in South America, larger than even the continental United States. Democracy in Brazil is still young. In 1985, the country elected its first civilian president after more than twenty years of military rule. A new constitution, drafted in 1987, reduced the role of the military to defending the nation against external threats. In the early 1990s, Brazil's democratic experiment withstood a political scandal. President Fernando Collor de Mello was accused of corruption. Faced with impeachment procedings and popular outrage, he resigned in December 1992.

In January 1995, Fernando Cardoso, a former sociology professor and finance minister, became president and proposed long-term solutions to Brazil's economic and poverty problems. As Cardoso was entering office, Brazil joined a trading bloc called the South American Common Market (with Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay), which experts predict may increase foreign investment and economic growth in Brazil.

Peru. Like many other South American countries, Peru has a long history of rule by military dictators or military-backed governments. In 1980, the military stepped aside, and Peru began the longest uninterrupted democratic period in its 166-year history. That decade, however, was marred by high

AP/Wide World Photos

Because democratization has come so quickly to Latin America, most countries are still reforming their political, economic, and social systems. Above, Brazilians demonstrate for the impeachment of President Fernando Collor de Mello in 1992.

inflation, political corruption, and the government's war with a left-wing guerrilla group known as the Shining Path. Shining Path terrorist attacks on government officials and civilians crippled the government's leadership. In 1990, Alberto Fujimori was elected president by promising to crack down on both the Shining Path and corruption. In 1992, Fujimori suspended the constitution, dissolved the congress, and imposed censorship on the press, saying these actions were necessary to battle the Shining Path. Many nations denounced what they called Fujimori's authoritarian rule. However, Fujimori easily won reelection in April 1995.

The Caribbean

The Caribbean consists of a group of island nations—including Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, and Jamaica—that stretch from near the coast of Florida to the northern tip of South America. The Caribbean population is composed of many different cultures and ethnic groups. The area has long been of interest to the United States. Cuba was a battleground in the Cold War, and in 1983, the United States invaded Grenada to prevent the island from being taken over by a Marxist leader. In 1994, the United States sent troops to Haiti to oversee the return to power of exiled president Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Cuba. An important neighbor of the North American nations is the large Caribbean island of Cuba, located only ninety miles from Florida. Cuba resembled a U.S. colony until Fidel Castro came to power in 1959. Castro instituted a communist program of economic and social changes.

By 1960, Castro's strong anti-Americanism and his growing ties to the Soviet Union had seriously strained Cuba's relations with the United States. When Castro seized U.S. assets there, President Dwight Eisenhower retaliated by stopping trade with Cuba.

In 1962, U.S. leaders learned that the Soviet Union was preparing to install nuclear missiles in Cuba. In a tense standoff, President John Kennedy placed U.S. military forces on alert and blockaded the island until the Soviets agreed to abandon the plan.

For many years Cuba was closely allied with the Soviet Union and relied heavily on Soviet economic assistance. But since the breakup of the Soviet Union, Cuba has become isolated both economically and politically. Castro remains committed to communism despite the severe economic and social problems in his country. However, in 1990 he began to encourage foreign investment and other reforms to help the economy—while trying to maintain a primarily socialist system.

In the summer of 1994, Castro allowed 33,000 Cubans to flee to the United States. Some experts believe that he unleashed the refugee flood to encourage the U.S. government to lift the trade embargo, an action that would improve the lifestyles of Cuban people and encourage them to stay in Cuba. However, the U.S. government intercepted the refugees and held most of them in the U.S. military base at Guantánamo, Cuba. Subsequent talks with Cuban officials produced an agreement to allow increased Cuban immigration to the United States, but the economic embargo remains in place.

Haiti. In 1804, Haiti became an independent country—the first Latin American country to win independence from its colonizer (France). However, Haiti is also the most impoverished country in the Western Hemisphere and one of the least developed in the world.

Throughout most of its history as an independent nation, Haiti has been governed by authoritarian regimes. François "Papa Doc" Duvalier ruled Haiti from the 1950s until the 1970s; his son, Jean Claude, took over in 1980 and was ousted in 1986. In 1990, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a Catholic priest, became Haiti's first democratically elected leader. However, Aristide was overthrown by the Haitian military in a coup d'état in September 1991 and went into exile in the United States. The United States and the United Nations imposed an economic embargo on Haiti to pressure the military to step down and allow Aristide to return. As a result, Haiti suffered terrible economic conditions, and several thousand Haitian refugees attempted to migrate to the United States.

Faced with an imminent U.S. invasion of Haiti, the Haitian military leaders stepped down in September 1994 and left the country (as part of a deal brokered by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter). U.S. armed forces then occupied Haiti and disarmed anti-Aristide factions. President Aristide returned to Haiti in October

South American Border War

In January 1995, a long-standing border dispute between Peru and its neighbor Ecuador escalated into an undeclared war between the two nations' armed forces, reminding observers of the problems of Latin American nationalism and military influence. The mountainous jungle terrain at the heart of the dispute is said to have oil and other mineral deposits.

Although a second cease-fire was signed in March 1995, fighting between the rival armies reportedly continued. Such conflicts may undermine the success of regional trade agreements—in this case, the Andino Trade Pact, which includes Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela.

1994. Although his democratic leadership has been restored, Aristide faces enormous challenges in rebuilding the nation.

U.S. Foreign Policy in Latin America

Economic Aid. Fidel Castro's takeover of Cuba in 1959 shocked the United States. American business and government leaders had taken for granted their control over Cuba and other parts of Latin America. But a new element—communist insurgency—then threatened U.S. dominance.

To avoid "another Cuba," President Eisenhower proposed giving military and economic aid to Latin America, particularly Central America. He hoped the aid would help needy people and lessen the chances that they would support radical political change.

In the 1960s, President Kennedy created the Alliance for Progress, an economic aid program that provided funds for roads, schools, hospitals, and water projects. However, the aid did not put an end to social and economic inequities in the region. Many Latin Americans knew that great sums of money were being spent in their countries, but because of political corruption and government mismanagement, they saw little improvement in their own lives.

In 1982, Congress approved a new economic plan called the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which gave large amounts of economic aid to the countries of the Caribbean and Central America, special duty-free status to products made in the Caribbean, and tax incentives to U.S. businesses that invested in the region. However, to participate, nations had to lower tariffs on American products they imported and cooperate militarily with the United States.

The Reagan Doctrine. When he came to office, President Ronald Reagan focused on U.S. security interests, which he felt were directly threatened by communists operating in Central America with the support of Cuba and the Soviet Union. During the 1980s, the United States strengthened its presence in the region and supplied large amounts of economic and military aid to U.S. allies in Central America.

During his second term, President Reagan focused his attention on Nicaragua. At first, Congress refused to fund the *contra* rebels despite Reagan's repeated requests. Finally, in 1986, Congress approved $100 million in military and nonlethal "humanitarian" aid for the *contras* fighting in Nicaragua. Then, in November 1986, the Reagan administration revealed that White House staff member Lt. Col. Oliver North had secretly sent millions of dollars to the *contras* in Nicaragua without Congressional approval by diverting profits from clandestine U.S. arms sales to Iran. This incident became a major source of controversy for both President Reagan and his successor, President George Bush.

Promoting Free Trade. In 1992, President Bush, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and Mexican President Carlos Salinas negotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement, which would lower barriers to trade among their countries. The historic agreement would lower and eliminate tariffs on about 65 percent of U.S. industrial and agricultural exports to Mexico—which would be eligible for duty-free trade within five years. NAFTA would also lower trade barriers for automobiles, agriculture, and foreign investment. Critics of NAFTA worried that workers in certain industries would suffer significantly under international competition. Others were concerned that Mexico's poor enforcement of environmental guidelines would lead to increased pollution in the already polluted border region. Nevertheless, the U.S. Congress approved NAFTA, and the agreement went into effect on January 1, 1994.

In December 1994, representatives from every nation in the Western Hemisphere except Cuba attended the Summit of the Americas in Miami. At the summit, leaders from the United States, Canada, and Mexico announced that they would begin negotiations to expand NAFTA's membership to include Chile, a South American nation with the fastest growing economy in the Western Hemisphere. Officials also discussed combining the region's more than twenty separate trade pacts to form one common hemispheric market by early next century.

Current Issues

U.S. Relations with Cuba. The 1959 Cuban Revolution that put Fidel Castro into power sent political and economic shockwaves throughout the United States. Suddenly, an anti-American communist regime was perched only ninety miles off the coast of Florida. Immediately, the United States imposed an economic embargo on Cuba to choke off its economy. Castro depended on economic support from the Soviet Union.

The United States considered Castro one of the biggest threats in the Western Hemisphere, and the embargo remained firmly in place throughout the Cold War. However, the Cold War drew to a close in 1989 and 1990 as communist governments collapsed in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. When economic aid from these former allies dried up, Cuba's economy and its 11 million residents suffered.

Many Americans think that the time has come for the United States to lift the embargo on Cuba. They argue that this action would make it difficult for Castro to blame U.S. policy for

Cuba's social and economic problems. In addition, some say allowing U.S. businesses to operate there would not only benefit U.S. companies, but would also promote free enterprise in Cuba, further undermining Castro's ability to rule. Proponents of lifting the embargo also believe that Cuba is being held to an unfair standard. They point out that that even the embargo against Vietnam has been lifted.

Other Americans believe, however, that the United States must continue to keep the pressure on Castro. They argue that the Cuban leader's regime is on the verge of collapse precisely because of the U.S. economic embargo. They maintain that Castro no longer has the money to pay for his military, which has been the main instrument of repression in Cuba for more than thirty years. Opponents of lifting the embargo contend that opening up U.S. economic activity in Cuba will allow Castro to rebuild his army.

AP/Wide World Photos

Fidel Castro, leader of Cuba since 1959, is struggling to hold on to power. Cuba's economy has been devastated by years of communist rule and the effects of the U.S. economic embargo.

A Hemispheric Free-Trade Zone. Latin America has made great strides not only on the democratic front, but also on the economic front. In the late 1980s, Latin American economies suffered from more than three decades of authoritarian governments and strict protectionism. Trade between Latin American nations and the rest of the world was limited because huge tariffs—sometimes as high as 1,000 percent—were imposed on imports. As a result, the region's economies were weakened, promoting political instability in many of its nations.

In the early 1990s, as Latin America moved toward democracy, its markets slowly began to open up to freer trade and more economic integration. Nations began to lower tariffs and negotiate trade agreements. Consequently, their economies improved. Overall, Latin America's economy grew for three straight years between 1991 and 1993 in spite of a worldwide recession.

Inflation rates decreased from an average of 49 percent in 1991 to 19 percent in 1993.

Latin America's economic growth has encouraged U.S. and other officials to propose combining regional trade agreements to form a single free-trade system in the Western Hemisphere. Many economists think that Latin American nations are far more willing than Asian or European nations to eliminate trade and investment barriers against the United States. This willingness offers an opportunity for American businesses to sell their products in these markets and create hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs in the process. Furthermore, cooperation on the economic front, many believe, will lead to greater teamwork on other problems, including drug trafficking and environmental degradation.

However, many Americans have the same fears about a hemispheric free-trade zone as they had about NAFTA. Most organized labor groups in the United States believe trade agreements with less developed nations will encourage U.S. companies to move their factories to Latin America to benefit from lower wages. The end result, according to these critics, will be a net loss of American jobs. Moreover, opponents of creating a hemispheric free-trade zone say that Latin American nations must first have stable economies and corruption-free, democratic governments before the United States should trade freely with them. They contend that the Mexican peso crisis revealed the potential costs of tying the U.S. economy to Latin American nations with unstable economies.

U.S. Military Intervention in Latin America. Many experts warn that while most Latin American countries are converting to democratic political systems, the income gap between rich and needy remains among the highest in the world; at

On January 1, 1994, rebels of the Zapatista National Liberation Army attacked residents of five towns in Mexico's southeastern state of Chiapas. The rebels, widely supported by the peasant Indian farmers in the region, demanded land reform and improved medical services, roads, and education. Tensions between the Mexican Army and Zapatista guerrillas resumed in late 1994 and continued into 1995.

AP/Wide World Photos

least 40 percent of Latin Americans live in poverty. Some experts say that if economic reforms and new trade agreements do not improve the lives of more people in the region, democracy in some Latin American nations may be threatened by popular revolt or military coup. Such a scenario could present U.S. policymakers with "another Haiti" or a similar decision about whether the U.S. military should intervene to protect fledgling democracies in Latin America.

Some Americans believe that the United States has clearly defined economic and security interests in Latin America that warrant military intervention. They cite that since the Monroe Doctrine was established in 1823, the United States has protected its interests in the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, with the possible addition of countries to NAFTA and the emergence of a hemispheric free trade pact, the United States—now more than ever—has an economic interest in maintaining stable democracies throughout Latin America.

Most Americans are wary of intervening in another nation's internal affairs, particularly after the fatalities of U.S. troops in Somalia. Critics argue that if the United States uses its armed forces to topple authoritarian regimes or to squelch political unrest in Latin America, U.S. troops will have to stay there for years to ensure democracy's return. During that period, many experts warn, American soldiers will be the targets of attacks from people who resent the presence of outsiders in their country. Many Americans believe that political problems in Latin America do not pose enough of a threat to U.S. national interests to justify the risks of an invasion or some other military action.

Outlook

The United States' past involvement in Latin America focused on helping anticommunist movements with economic and military aid, including the use of U.S. troops. Today, the U.S. relationship with Latin America is based more on economic, rather than strategic, interests. Economic ties are growing stronger after almost two full years of NAFTA and with the planning of hemispheric free trade. However, roadblocks to a new period of cooperation still lie ahead. Latin America's democratic governments and their free-market reforms are not secure because many Latin Americans remain mired in poverty. The Clinton administration hopes that both U.S. and other Latin American citizens will benefit from more trade. However, the increased interdependence of free-trading nations also brings added risks—as it did during the Mexican peso crisis in early 1995. How these policies affect the U.S. economy, U.S. defense planning, and the democratic and economic progress of Latin America remains to be seen.

The Debate

Latin America

The United States Should Lift Its Economic Embargo Against Cuba.

PRO

The economic embargo on Cuba was an effective U.S. policy during the Cold War; it helped reduce the benefits of the Soviet Union's economic aid to Cuba. However, now that the Cold War is history, there is no legitimate reason to keep the embargo in place. Moreover, because Cuba's government now allows foreign investment in certain industries, the United States should help sow the seeds of capitalism in Cuba.

CON

The economic embargo on Cuba should remain as long as Fidel Castro is in power. His military is poorly equipped in large part because his government no longer has the money for hardware—a direct result of the embargo. If the embargo were lifted, Castro would be able to rearm the country and continue his oppression of the Cuban people. Social unrest from Cuba's poor economy will lead to the toppling of the Castro regime.

The United States and Latin America Should Establish a Hemispheric Free-Trade Zone.

PRO

With the successful implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the United States and its Latin American neighbors should work together to extend free trade across the region. South America is potentially a huge market for American products. In addition, free trade would dramatically improve Latin American economies and secure democracy and capitalism across the region.

CON

A U.S.-Latin America free-trade zone would mean little for the United States except a loss of national sovereignty and a mass exodus of American companies to Latin America to capitalize on cheaper labor and lenient environmental rules. The United States should not extend free trade to nations with unstable economies or corrupt governments because their mismanagement could cost U.S. taxpayers money.

The United States Should Use Military Force to Protect Democracy in Latin America.

PRO

The United States should promote and support democracy in the Western Hemisphere, even if that requires military intervention. Otherwise, the United States may face refugee crises and economic losses with increasingly important trading partners. In addition, the U.S. government has intervened militarily in the Western Hemisphere in the past, providing precedents for such action.

CON

Most political problems in Latin America do not pose threats to U.S. national security interests, and therefore do not require the use of American troops. The United States should continue to use economic pressure and negotiations—not military force—to support democracy in the region. Nations have a right to determine their own governmental systems, and the United States should not get involved.

The Middle East

For much of this century, the Middle East has been torn apart by war and conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Even the 1948 birth of the Jewish state of Israel was marked by violence. Armies from five Arab countries immediately invaded the new nation. Since then, Israel and the surrounding Arab states have fought four wars over land sacred to their histories and religions, resulting in thousands of deaths and a deep-seated suspicion and mistrust. As Israel and its Arab neighbors wrestled for territories from pre-1948 Palestine, the Palestinians themselves were left without a homeland. Palestinians have compaigned for the creation of a separate Palestinian state for many years.

Many nations, including the United States, have urged the Arabs and Israelis to begin making peace among their passionately divided peoples. After years of difficult negotiations, Israel signed historic peace agreements with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993 and Jordan in 1994. Israeli and Arab leaders now face the overwhelming task of carrying out these peace plans while controlling extremist groups that violently oppose such peace initiatives.

Although some issues have begun to be addressed in the recent peace accords, many other contentious issues remain unsettled. The Clinton administration continues to promote peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Yet recent terrorist attacks threaten to derail the peace process. The challenge for the people of the Middle East is to remain committed to peace in spite of renewed violence.

Key Questions

- Should the United States support the establishment of a Palestinian state?
- Should the United States insist that Israel return the Golan Heights?
- Should the United States lift the economic embargo against Iraq?

Background

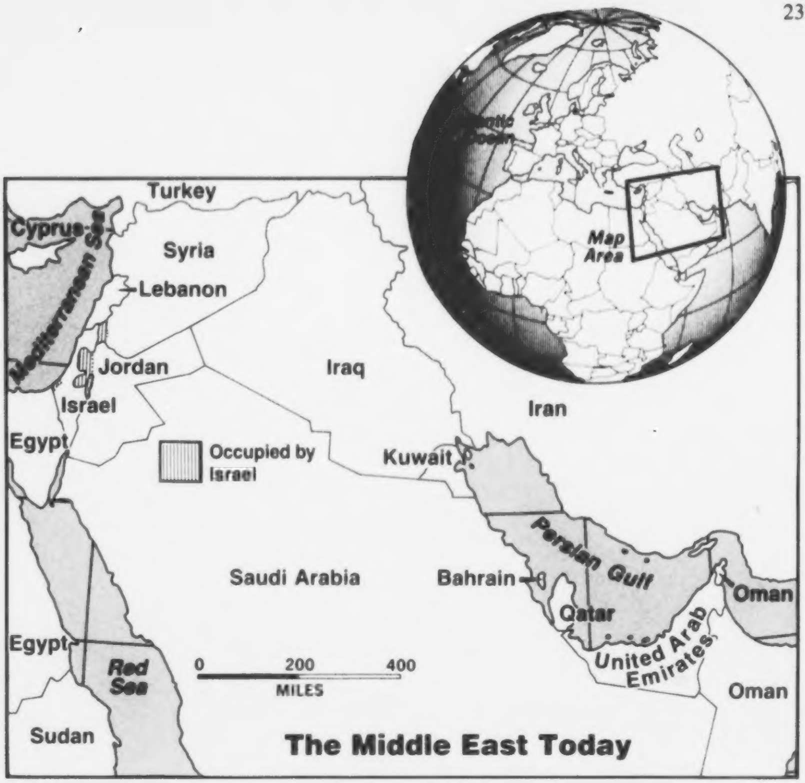
Key Players in the Middle East

Israel. Israel was formed from part of the Palestine Mandate—the territory of Palestine entrusted to Great Britain by the League of Nations following World War I. Palestine then included areas now comprising most of present-day Jordan, Israel, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the Gaza Strip.

Modern Israel grew out of Zionism, a political movement founded in 1897 to establish a Jewish homeland free from persecution. Twenty years later, in the Balfour Declaration, the British government agreed in principle to a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Tens of thousands of Jews from around the world began immigrating to Palestine, joining other Jews who had lived there for centuries. However, the Holocaust—the extermination of millions of European Jews by the Nazis before and during World War II—was the major reason the United Nations decided to create a Jewish state. Israel, established in the section of Palestine west of the Jordan River, declared itself an independent nation on May 14, 1948.

The United States was one of the first nations to officially recognize the new Israel. U.S. support was an outgrowth of American cultural and religious ties to Jews, the feeling of a moral obligation to help them establish a homeland after the Holocaust, and the belief that the new Israeli government would be democratic. Today, the United States gives Israel, its most reliable ally in the Middle East, about $3 billion per year in foreign aid.

The Palestinians. The Palestinians are a people without a home. In 1921, the British gave two-thirds of Palestine to a non-Palestinian Arab king who formed the kingdom of Jordan. When the western third of Palestine was partitioned after World War II, Egypt, Israel, and Jordan absorbed


Turkey
Cyprus
Mediterranean Sea
Syria
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Jordan
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Iraq
Iran
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Occupied by Israel
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Persian Gulf
Saudi Arabia
Bahrain
Qatar
Oman
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400
MILES
Oman
Sudan
Atlantic Ocean
Map Area

The Middle East Today

areas that were supposed to form a separate Palestinian state.

Conflicts in the Middle East have affected approximately 6 million Palestinians who are now scattered throughout the region. Many live in refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Other Palestinians have fled to Europe and North America.

In 1964, Palestinian leaders formed the Palestine Liberation Organization—the PLO—to lead the struggle for the establishment of their own state. The PLO has used both violence and diplomacy in its efforts. In 1974, the United Nations granted the PLO observer status, which allows it to participate as a nonvoting member in the UN General Assembly. However, some Palestinians say the PLO does not speak for them.

The Carter Library

After the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin (left to right) clasp hands. The agreement led to an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and raised hopes that the Arab-Israeli conflict could be resolved.

Egypt. The modern Republic of Egypt—the most populous nation in the Middle East—was established in 1952, when King Farouk was overthrown in a coup led by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. President Nasser established close relations with the Soviet Union and, by exploiting strong anti-Israeli feelings, attempted with little success to unify other Arab nations into a United Arab Republic.

After Nasser died in 1970, Vice President Anwar el-Sadat became president and dramatically altered Egypt's policies. Sadat asked Soviet military advisers to leave in 1973, and in 1978 he became the first Arab leader to negotiate peace with Israel. This caused most Arab countries to condemn Sadat; many broke relations with Egypt. In 1981, a group of Muslim fundamentalists assassinated Sadat, bringing Vice President Muhammed Hosni Mubarak to the presidency. After a decade of cool relations with Israel, Mubarak met with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in October 1992.

Jordan. In 1921, Great Britain established the autonomous region of Transjordan from the eastern two-thirds of the Palestine Mandate. In 1946, Transjordan became an independent Arab kingdom. Transjordan annexed much of the area on the West Bank of the Jordan River and renamed itself Jordan. Since 1952, Jordan has been ruled by King Hussein, who has generally steered a moderate course in the region.

Syria. Syria gained its independence from France in 1946. In 1958, Syria united with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic (UAR). Egypt quickly became dominant, however, and in 1961 the Syrians withdrew from the UAR. During the next decade, Syria's government was unstable until General Hafez al-Assad came to power in 1970. Assad, who is still president, improved his nation's relationship with the United States by joining the coalition fighting against Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Lebanon. A French colony until 1945, Lebanon is about 60 percent Muslim and 40 percent Christian. This population mix has made Lebanon more pro-Western than many of its neighbors, but it also has made the small country a powder keg. In the early 1970s, Lebanon exploded into civil war involving Christians, Muslims, the PLO, and Syrian "peacekeeping forces." In 1982, Israel became involved when it invaded southern Lebanon, ultimately taking much of the capital city of Beirut. Israel expelled the PLO from Lebanon and then withdrew back to the border in 1985. Lebanon's civil war left the economy and much of the country in ruins. Rival groups representing all sides in Lebanon agreed to a power-sharing arrangement in 1989. Under this accord, Lebanese leaders are trying to set up an effective government and disarm warring factions. Although its economy has improved, Lebanon saw its worst violence in three years in 1993. In July, Israel launched air attacks against the PLO and other Islamic guerrilla positions in retaliation for the shooting deaths of several Israeli soldiers along the border between Israel and Lebanon.

Holy War in Algeria

Algeria, a North African nation, was a French colony from 1842 to 1962. In 1992, Algeria's French-backed military government canceled an election that an Islamist party seemed likely to win. Since then, Islamic militants have declared a holy war against the government because they want Algeria to be an Islamic state. Extreme violence by both the military and Islamic fundamentalists escalated in late 1994. By that time, between 10,000 and 20,000 people had died, including twenty-eight journalists and sixty-nine foreigners. Experts believe that if France does not mediate, Islamic fundamentalists could take over in Algeria, which some think could seriously affect the security of other North African countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt. Other Islamic fundamentalist countries include Afghanistan, Iran, and Sudan.

Iran. Iran is not an Arab country. Most Iranians are descendants of Persians, who ruled much of the Middle East for more than five centuries B.C. From the end of World War II until 1979, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi ruled Iran and modernized his country with profits from an expanding oil industry. In 1979, religious fundamentalist revolutionaries seized power, and an exiled Shi'ite Muslim leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, became Iran's ruler.

Khomeini condemned the United States for supporting the shah, whom Khomeini said had corrupted Iran by "Westernizing" it and moving it away from strict Islamic observance.

When Khomeini died in 1989, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani became Iran's president. Believed by some to be less antagonistic toward the United States, Rafsanjani has made economic and diplomatic overtures to Western industrialized countries. However, many observers believe Iran is intent on becoming the dominant military and religious power in the Middle East. Iran has been undergoing an extensive conventional rearmament program, which, some maintain, includes a campaign for nuclear capability.

Iraq. Located in the "fertile crescent" between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers where Western civilization was born, Iraq's capital of Baghdad was long the center of Arab culture. From the seventeenth century until the end of World War I, the Ottoman Turks controlled Iraq. After World War I, Great Britain occupied Iraq under a League of Nations mandate. The British installed a king in 1932 but maintained strong influence over the government. In 1958, the king was overthrown in a military coup. The current Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, is not a military officer but is supported by his country's army. In a 1980 territorial dispute, Iraq attacked its neighbor, Iran, to begin a war that lasted eight years. In 1990, Saddam Hussein's armies invaded a smaller neighbor, Kuwait, claiming that Kuwait was rightfully part of Iraq. A United States-led armed coalition expelled Iraq from Kuwait in early 1991, but Saddam Hussein has maintained leadership of the country.

Conflict in the Middle East

Establishment of Israel (1948). The modern nation of Israel was born out of the 1947 United Nations partition plan, which proposed that two countries—one for Arabs and one for Jews—be formed from one territory, Palestine. Although it had been many centuries since Jews controlled Palestine, many Jews believed that the land was rightfully theirs because God had given it to them thousands of years ago.

While most of the international community supported Israel's right to exist, few Arabs did. The land that the Arab people and their ancestors had occupied for centuries was suddenly given to another group of people. Many Arabs continue to view Israel as the intruder that took away the Palestinians' ancestral home.

On May 15, 1948, when Israel came into being, soldiers from Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq crossed into the new nation, touching off the first Arab-Israeli war. The cease-fire lines of that war became Israel's tentative border. Since then, Israel and the surrounding area have been rocked by a series of wars.

The Six-Day War in 1967 is perhaps the most historic. Fearing that Egypt was preparing to attack, Israel launched a surprise attack on June 5, 1967, defeating Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. Over a period of six days, Israel captured the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the eastern half of Jerusalem. Israel still controls all but the Sinai.

Determined to regain land lost in the Six-Day War, Syria and Egypt attacked Israel on October

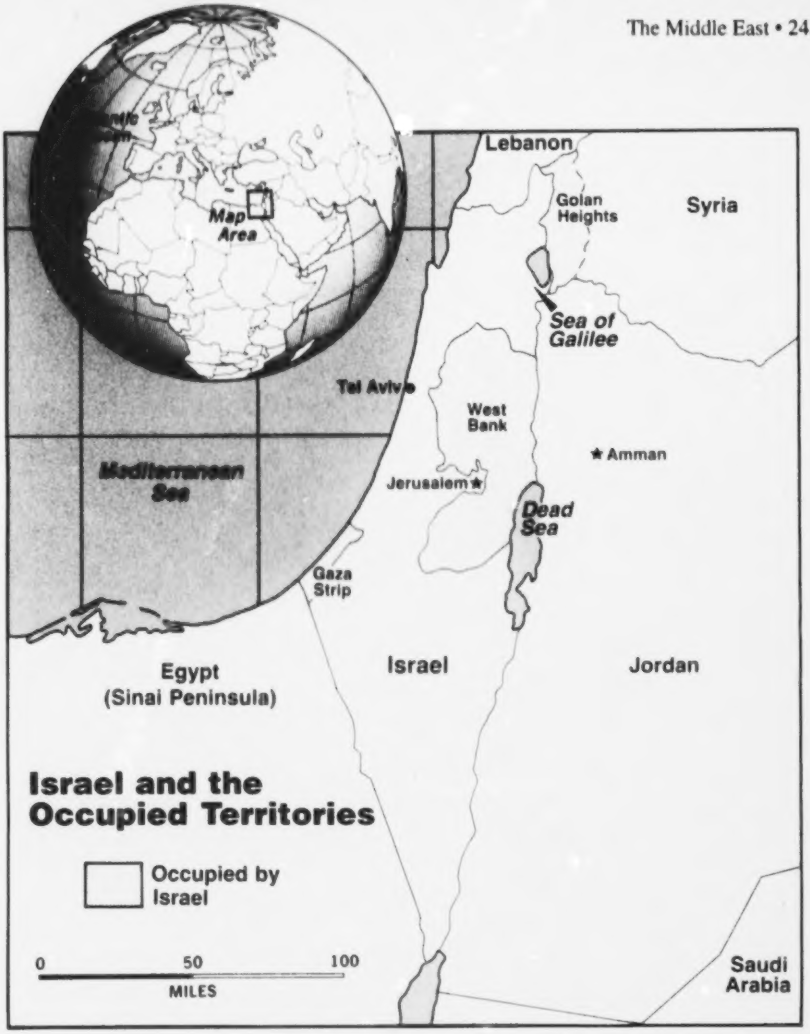
6, 1973, which was the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur. Although Israel won that war (known as the October War), it suffered politically. Domestically, the government lost credibility because of the high number of Israeli casualties.

UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. During the 1960s and 1970s, the United Nations adopted two resolutions attempting to establish the principles for a negotiated settlement in the Middle East. In 1967, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242, calling for an end to all declarations of war and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from territories captured from the Arabs. In addition, Israel and the Arab states were to respect one another's independence and right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. The resolution also called for a "just settlement" of the Palestinian refugee problem. UN Security Council Resolution 338, passed in 1973, states that the Resolution 242 proposals should be pursued through negotiations.

Much of the language of the two UN resolutions is open to differing interpretations. In addition, the atmosphere of mutual mistrust—especially between Israel and the PLO, Syria, and Jordan—has limited the effectiveness of the resolutions.

Egyptian-Israeli Peace. On November 19, 1977, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat became the first Arab leader to visit Israel. Sadat's trip helped the Israeli and Egyptian peoples overcome some of the psychological barriers of fear, hatred, and suspicion between them.

In 1978, Sadat met with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and U.S. President Jimmy Carter at the Camp David presidential retreat in Maryland. In 1979, the three leaders signed an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, ending the thirty-one-year conflict between the two countries. The


Map Area
Lebanon
Golan Heights
Syria
Sea of Galilee
Tel Aviv
West Bank
Amman
Mediterranean Sea
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Gaza Strip
Egypt (Sinai Peninsula)
Israel
Jordan
Israel and the Occupied Territories
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Saudi Arabia

treaty established diplomatic relations, trade, tourism, and other exchanges. In addition, Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt in stages, and Egypt opened the Suez Canal to Israeli use.

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Since Israel was established in 1948, most Palestinians have fled Israeli-held areas to neighboring Arab territory. Some Palestinians have vowed to destroy Israel and establish a country of their own in its place. Others, however, are tired of the ravages of war and would like to peaceably settle the issue of a Palestinian homeland.

In December 1987, an uprising—known as the *intifada*—erupted to protest the presence of Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinians wanted the Israelis to leave and allow them to establish a homeland. So far, more than 800 people altogether have been killed in these protests.

In 1991 and 1992, U.S. led efforts in Israeli-Palestinian peacekeeping regarding the West Bank and Gaza strip reached a stalemate. The Palestinians refused to accept Israel's offer of limited self-rule, and Israel insisted on settling the West Bank and Gaza Strip with newly arriving Jewish immigrants from Russia.

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks. Peace talks were revitalized after Yitzhak Rabin, a moderate, won the election for Israeli prime minister in June 1992. With a new prime minister, Israel was able to reach a historic peace accord with the PLO in September 1993. The accord's two most important provisions included agreements to establish a five-year interim period of limited autonomy for Palestinians in the occupied territories and to withdraw Israeli forces from Palestinian areas of the West Bank. The world hailed the new accord as the beginning of Middle East peace.

However, complications arose over how to implement the provisions because Israeli and PLO officials have differing ideas of the eventual outcome of Palestinian autonomy. Although Israeli soldiers had begun to leave some occupied territories in early 1994, some Palestinians believed that the Israeli government retained too much control over Palestinian affairs.

The Threat of Terrorism. Fears that some Israeli and Arab extremist groups might incite violence to derail the peace process came true in early 1994. On February 25, an American-born Jewish settler opened fire on Arab worshipers in a crowded mosque in Hebron on the West Bank, killing more than fifty people. Other violent incidents increased tensions among Jewish settlers and Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Then, in October 1994, a bomb attack destroyed a commuter bus in Tel Aviv, Israel, killing twenty-three people and injuring more than forty. A radical Palestinian group, Hamas, claimed responsibility for the attack.

To improve security in Israel, Rabin sealed Israel's borders with the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Some feared that this action would gain more Palestinian support for Hamas, as frustrated Palestinian workers would be unable to go to their jobs in Israel.

Israeli-Jordanian Peace Agreement. In October 1994, Israeli leaders signed another groundbreaking peace treaty, this time with Jordan. Ending a forty-six-year state of war between the two nations, the treaty included provisions to build two dams to share scarce water and for Israel to return to Jordan 152 square miles of desert and farmland that it won in the 1948 Middle East War. In addition, the agreement allows Israel to rent back the land from Jordan so Israeli settlements and farms can remain there.

AP/Wide World Photos

In accordance with the October 1993 Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement, Israeli soldiers withdrew from the Gaza Strip and the city of Jericho on the West Bank. Palestinians now police those areas themselves. A new Palestinian policeman in the Gaza Strip is shown here being kissed by a Palestinian woman in May 1994.

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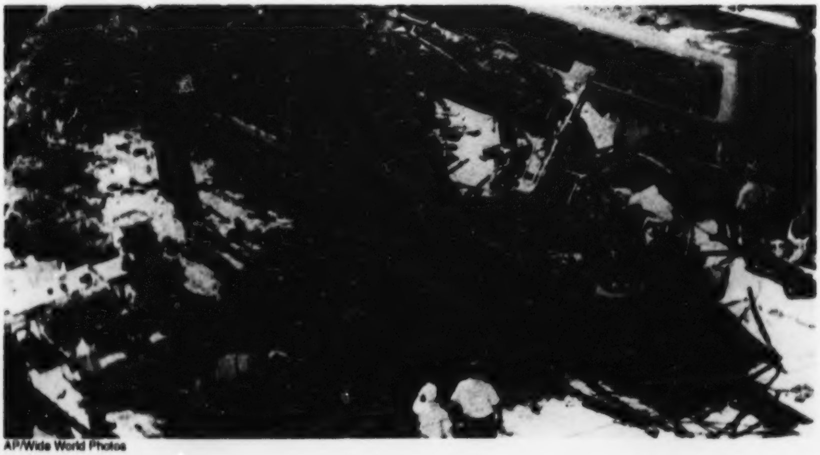
The Persian Gulf War. In August 1990, Iraqi troops invaded neighboring Kuwait, taking over that prosperous country's oil fields. Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered the invasion after accusing Kuwait of stealing from Iraq's oil fields and driving down the price of oil by producing more than its OPEC quota.

The United Nations Security Council immediately imposed an embargo forbidding trade with Iraq except for urgent humanitarian supplies. The sanction most damaging to Iraq's economy was the ban on the sale of Iraqi oil exports. Within days, the United States ordered a naval force, planes, and combat troops to the Gulf region. Nearly 500,000 U.S. soldiers had landed in Saudi Arabia by the end of 1990, joining forces from twenty-seven other nations.

After economic embargoes failed to force Iraq out of Kuwait, the United Nations authorized its members to "use all necessary means" to make Iraqi troops withdraw after January 15, 1991. One day after the deadline passed, allied forces began bombing targets in Iraq and Kuwait. One month later, Iraq was defeated.

In April 1991, Iraq accepted the United Nations cease-fire resolution. It required Iraq to destroy or dismantle all chemical and biological weapons, all long-range missiles, and all equipment used to make nuclear weapons. It also required Iraq to submit to a long-term UN monitoring system to make sure Iraq would not buy or make any such weapons in the future. Later the United Nations added that Iraq must also recognize Kuwait as an independent, sovereign nation. The cease-fire resolution stated that the August 1990 sanctions on Iraqi exports would remain in place until Iraq met these requirements.



AP/Wide World Photos

In October 1994, the Israeli-Palestinian peace process was again jeopardized by terrorist activity. A commuter bus in the city of Tel Aviv, Israel, was bombed by the radical Islamic group Hamas. Twenty-three people died, and more than forty were wounded. Experts fear that continued violence may shatter the peace process altogether.

Current Issues

Establishment of a Palestinian Homeland. Palestinian officials expect that they will eventually be given full autonomy over the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Yassir Arafat, the leader of the PLO, believes the 1993 agreement with Israel sows the seeds of full Palestinian statehood. However, Yitzhak Rabin insists that this is out of the question. Israel envisions the Palestinians forming a confederation with Jordan or even forming an Israeli-Palestinian confederation.

But many Palestinians resent the idea of relying on another nation for their economic and military survival. Some Palestinians would be dissatisfied with anything less than total independence and might continue to fight Israel. However, a Palestinian state on the West Bank may not survive on its own because the area is small, lacks a strong agricultural or industrial base, and has few natural resources.

Israeli and PLO officials hope to resolve this conflict during special negotiations that are scheduled to finish within five years of the 1993 peace accord. Many experts believe that long-term peace

In October 1994, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (left) and Jordan's King Hussein (right) signed a peace treaty that makes compromises on land disputes and water rights. Most controversial, perhaps, are the provisions whereby Israel agrees to return land to Jordan that it won in the 1948 Middle East War, and Jordan agrees to lease part of that land back to the Israeli government.

The White House

between Israel and the Arab world rests on Palestinian statehood. They believe that violence will inevitably flare up if Israel continues to resist statehood. Others argue that the Palestinians will use the territory to join Arab nations to wage an all-out attack on Israel.

Israel and the Golan Heights. Another obstacle to long-lasting Middle East peace is Israel's occupation of territories captured from Syria and other Arab nations during the Six-Day War in 1967. Syria has always argued that Israel's occupation of the Golan Heights violates international law forbidding nations from gaining territory by military force. The Syrians maintain that they have rightful sovereignty over the Golan Heights.

Israeli leaders argue that this territory is especially crucial to their country's defense. The Israeli military contends it cannot afford to lose control over the mountains that overlook Israeli coastal cities just a few miles away. The Israeli government maintains that it will hold the occupied territories until the signing of a comprehensive peace settlement that guarantees the long-term safety of Israel.

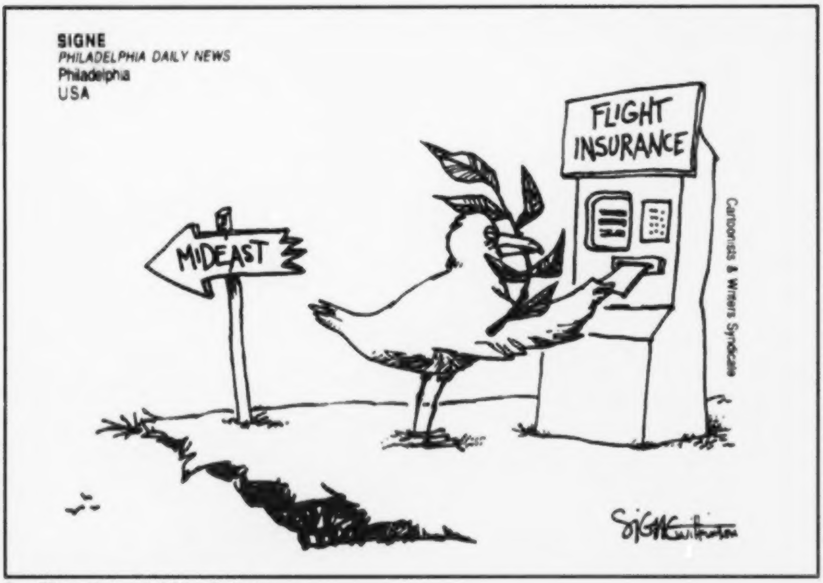
In late 1994, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad stated that Jordan's agreement to lease land back to Israel was an unacceptable model for resolution of the Golan territorial dispute. Assad and many Syrians demand a full Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, while Israel prefers to withdraw in stages over a long period to test Syria's commitment to peace.

The United States has taken an active role in promoting an accord between Israel and Syria. President Clinton held lengthy negotiating sessions with Assad and Rabin in late 1993, and he again met with Assad in late 1994. Critics believe that the United States is overly optimistic about Syria's commitment to peace. Many experts say Assad is linked with terrorists. These critics argue that the Clinton administration is pressuring Israel into signing an agreement with Syria, a nation many believe cannot be trusted.

Many U.S. officials concede that Assad in the past has probably sponsored terrorist activity. Nevertheless, they argue that Israeli leaders must negotiate separate peace agreements with all of Israel's Arab neighbors, including Syria, if they hope to achieve lasting peace in the region. Moreover, supporters of an Israeli-Syrian peace accord maintain that negotiating with secular Arab leaders is better than dealing with Islamic militants who many think pose greater threats to world peace.

Sanctions Against Iraq. UN economic sanctions have been in force against Iraq since August 1990, when Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered the invasion of Kuwait. The United States and other UN countries have stated that Iraq must comply with all cease-fire resolutions before the sanctions are lifted.

Iraq has met some conditions such as destroying weapons and allowing the United Nations to install weapons monitoring systems. By 1994, some members of the UN Security Council began to assert that Iraq had complied with the cease-fire resolutions, and that the embargo should be lifted.



Signe Wilkinson/Cartoonists & Writers Syndicate

The Clinton administration, however, said that Iraq had not gone far enough.

In October 1994, Iraq moved some 80,000 soldiers to within thirty miles of the Kuwaiti border. The United States immediately sent 40,000 troops to the region to prevent another Iraqi invasion. Iraq's soldiers soon retreated. Some experts believed that Saddam Hussein was threatening Kuwait to pressure the United Nations into lifting the sanctions. However, Iraq's show of force only made the United States and its allies even more reluctant to end the embargo. The United States stated that it would not lift sanctions until Iraq fully complied with all UN resolutions—including returning stolen military hardware to Kuwait, improving its human rights record, and accounting for some 600 Kuwaitis who are still missing from the Persian Gulf War.

Supporters of lifting the Iraqi embargo include three members of the UN Security Council—Russia, China, and France. They contend that Iraq has complied with all cease-fire resolutions that pertain to the lifting of sanctions. They point out that the embargo is hurting the Iraqi people, not Saddam Hussein or other Iraqi leaders. Consequently, the people are now too demoralized and weak to revolt against the Iraqi leader. They also contend that Saddam Hussein will no longer comply with any resolutions if he thinks that the United States is opposed to lifting sanctions under any circumstances.

Critics of lifting sanctions say that Saddam Hussein cannot be trusted and that the embargo should not be ended without his full compliance with all UN resolutions. Opponents point out that Iraq's economy has been badly weakened by trade sanctions and that continuing them will eventually lead to Saddam Hussein's fall from power. They also contend that if sanctions are lifted now, the Iraqi leader will surely try to rearm his country. Moreover, experts argue that some nations are pressing to lift the embargo because they plan to profit from renewed contracts when trade with Iraq is reestablished.

Outlook

Building peace in the Middle East is complicated by many factors—hundreds of years of religious and ethnic conflicts, as well as modern-day nuclear ambitions. Implementation of new peace agreements between Israel and the PLO and between Israel and Jordan will continue to pose more challenges for Middle Eastern people as terrorist groups from all sides oppose the peace process. Yet the role of the United States remains vital to negotiating additional peace accords, particularly between Israel and Syria. The Clinton administration has made bringing peace and stability to the historically unstable Middle East one of its top foreign policy objectives.

The Debate

The Middle East

The United States Should Support the Establishment of a Palestinian State.

PRO	CON
The Arab-Israeli conflict will never be resolved until a Palestinian state is established. Such a state would meet the Palestinians' demands to govern themselves. The United States should support the spirit of the original United Nations partition plan, which calls for the establishment of two nations, one Arab and one Jewish.	Creating a Palestinian state will not solve the problems in the Middle East. Some Palestinians are firmly committed to taking back the territory that is now Israel. They are likely to use a Palestinian state as a staging ground for terrorist attacks and eventually an all-out assault to destroy and retake Israel.

The United States Should Insist That Israel Return the Golan Heights.

PRO	CON
International law forbids one nation from taking the land of another through war. In a 1967 war, Israel annexed the Golan Heights, which rightly belongs to Syria. Even the United Nations has demanded that Israel withdraw. Yet Israel has openly supported settlements in this region by Israelis and has even annexed the West Bank portion of Jerusalem. Israel should begin returning the land as a gesture of peace.	The occupied territories are Israel's only bargaining chips, and Israel has the right to exchange land for peace. Although Syria has indicated that it may be willing to negotiate, U.S. leaders should not pressure Israel into surrendering the Golan Heights to a country that has threatened to destroy it. Israel should keep the territories until Syria denounces terrorism and extends formal recognition to Israel.

The United States Should Lift the Economic Embargo Against Iraq.

PRO	CON
Iraq has met all conditions of the UN cease-fire resolution that pertain to lifting sanctions. The Iraqi people, not Saddam Hussein, suffer from the prolonged embargo. Adding further requirements before lifting the embargo makes it look like the United States is trying to starve the Iraqi people into revolt against Saddam Hussein. Moreover, pushing for additional conditions would risk Saddam Hussein's cooperation because he may fear that sanctions will not be lifted even with his compliance.	Iraq's military maneuvers near the Kuwaiti border again proved that Saddam Hussein is still a regional menace. Lifting sanctions would enable the Iraqi leader to rearm the nation and continue to be a threat. He must prove to the world that he is serious about peace by complying with all UN resolutions—including improving his human rights record, accounting for missing Kuwaitis, and returning stolen military hardware. Only then should economic sanctions be lifted.

International Trade

International trade has become a cornerstone of international relations in the 1990s. The end of the Cold War opened the way for increased cooperation among nations, creating new economic partnerships. Trading goods and services with other nations is vital to the U.S. economy.

President Bill Clinton, many members of Congress, and most economists believe that free and open trade is the key to a prosperous global economy. Free-trade advocates supported the approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993 and the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1994.

However, some Americans believe that the United States should not trade freely with nations that abuse human rights, pollute the environment, or treat U.S. goods unfairly in their marketplaces. Some experts argue that new free-trade agreements will increase the U.S. trade deficit—the amount by which imports exceed exports. In addition, if sales of U.S. goods overseas continue to decline, thousands of domestic manufacturing jobs may be lost forever. Some Americans support imposing tariffs and quotas on foreign goods to reduce imports and protect American jobs.

However, free trade proponents say this policy, called protectionism, will harm both the U.S. and global economies. The results of several recent free-trade pacts will test their assertions.

Key Questions

- Will free trade result in a loss in the number of U.S. jobs?
- Should the United States take retaliatory measures to reduce the trade deficit with Japan?
- Should the U.S. government try to manage trade?

Background

Trading with the World

Why Do Nations Trade? The economy of a country grows faster when it trades its most plentiful or most easily produced goods with other nations rather than producing all the goods and services it requires to serve its own domestic needs.

Most countries have a particular strength or comparative advantage—such as natural resources, climate, skilled labor, or technical superiority—that enables them to make certain products at a lower cost than could other countries. Comparative advantage allows each country to profit by trading goods it produces most efficiently for goods other countries make more efficiently.

For example, in the nineteenth century, Great Britain was the world's most efficient producer of textiles, while Portugal, with its ideal climate and fertile soil, produced fine wines. By concentrating resources on what each did best and by exchanging these products, the two countries had all the wine and textiles they needed, plus money left over to make or buy other goods. In this way, trade boosts a country's standard of living.

Protectionism. Free trade, or trade without restrictions, has been rare in the world marketplace throughout most of the twentieth century. Most countries adopt protectionist measures such as tariffs and quotas to encourage consumers to buy domestic goods. A tariff is a tax on imports that increases the price of foreign-made products. Quotas limit the amount of specific products that can be imported. Ideally, trade barriers, which are measures enacted to protect jobs in newly formed or struggling industries, are temporary.

Most economists agree that trade restrictions lead to higher prices for domestic products because domestic companies no longer need to keep prices

ハンバーガー
ドナルド

McDonald's

Statistics show that American investment in a foreign country leads to greater U.S. exports to that nation. Here, a U.S. fast-food restaurant in Japan may be making headway in the quest for increased sales of U.S. goods in Japan.

low to compete with imports. If consumers have to spend more money on one product, they have less to spend on other products. This trend ultimately leads to unemployment in other domestic industries.

Protectionist measures are risky because the economies of the world are interconnected. Unless nations agree to trade barriers, an escalating series of retaliatory tariffs and quotas—a trade war—could result, possibly plunging the global economy into a depression.

Trade Wars and the Great Depression. The last major trade war occurred in the 1930s, after Congress passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act. This act greatly increased tariffs on all goods imported into the United States. Other nations retaliated by raising tariffs on American goods. The tariffs increased prices for almost everything bought and sold around the world. International demand for foreign-made products plummeted because of the high prices, causing entire industries to shut down. The trade wars of the 1930s thus deepened the effects of the Great Depression.

U.S. Trade Policy

American Trade Leadership after World War II. After World War II, the United States provided economic and technical assistance to Europe and Japan and encouraged the nations of western Europe to coordinate their trade policies. Eventually, in 1958, nations in western Europe created the European Economic Community (or EC for European Community). The EC abolished import restrictions between member countries and established some common terms for marketing their products outside Europe.

In the postwar world, U.S. companies expanded international trade by selling their goods and opening factories overseas, especially in Latin America, parts of Europe, and the Middle East. By opening factories overseas, these multinational corporations took advantage of lower labor costs and created new markets for American consumer goods. These corporations provided foreign workers with jobs and therefore the money with which to buy U.S. products.

Encouraging International Trade. During the 1940s, leaders of the international community negotiated two agreements designed to encourage world trade.

Bretton Woods. In 1944, forty-four Western nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create a new monetary system. Under the Bretton Woods system, exchange rates between foreign currencies were fixed against the value of the American dollar. The system worked well at first because the U.S. economy was much stronger than the other economies of the world. But after a few years, the economies of other nations grew, and the value of the U.S. dollar went down, throwing the Bretton Woods system out of balance. Therefore, in 1971 the system was reformed into a floating exchange system, whereby the values of currencies relative to one another are free to change daily. In a floating exchange system, the value of a country's currency reflects the health of its economy.

GATT. In 1947, twenty-three noncommunist nations signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), establishing a code of conduct for trading nations. Under the provisions of GATT, nations have sought to increase world trade by reducing tariffs and other barriers.

In 1994, 123 nations took part in GATT talks. Meetings of GATT members provide a continuing international forum for nations to discuss trade issues. These meetings—called "rounds"—have produced important trade agreements. The Kennedy Round (1967) and the Tokyo Round (1979), for example, resulted in substantial worldwide tariff reductions. In 1993, after seven years of the Uruguay Round negotiations, GATT members approved a sweeping new trade accord that eliminates import tariffs on thousands of products, phases out quota systems, and establishes a new global organization to settle trade disputes.

The United States and International Trade Today

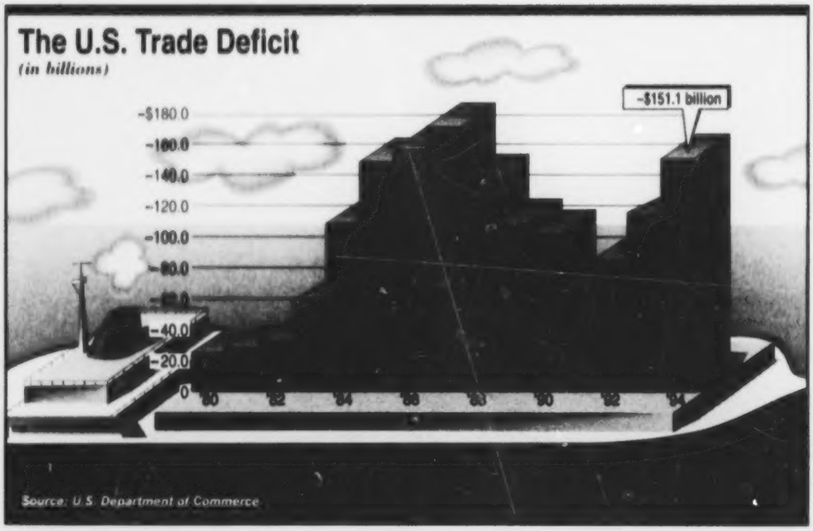
The Trade Deficit. Since the mid-1970s, the United States has imported more goods than it has exported. This trade deficit grew to $151.1 billion in 1994. Most economists believe that the trade deficit has caused hundreds of thousands of jobs to be lost in domestic industries such as steel, agriculture, and the manufacture of automobiles, textiles, and shoes.

In response to growing concern about the trade deficit, Congress passed the Trade Act of 1988, which requires the president to limit imports from countries that do not give American exports the same treatment as their products receive in the United States.

Breaking Down the Barriers

The 1993 GATT approved by the United States, the European Community, and 100 other nations is the most ambitious free-trade accord in history. Its key provisions include the following:

- **Import tariffs will be cut by more than one-third on thousands of products including food and electronics. Consumer prices should fall as a result.**
- **Agricultural export subsidies will be reduced, making it easier for farmers to compete in the world marketplace.**
- **Quota systems that protect manufacturers in industrialized countries from cheaper, less developed countries' products will be phased out over ten years.**
- **"Dumping"—the export of products below cost to get a foothold in world markets—will be limited.**
- **The World Trade Organization has been created to settle trade disputes under GATT rules.**



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

The United States has not had a trade surplus since 1975. Today's $151.1 billion trade deficit results primarily from a $65 billion trade deficit with Japan (mostly motor vehicles) and a $29 billion trade deficit with China (primarily textiles and clothes).

Economists point to several reasons for the growing trade deficit. Some U.S. trading partners limit the amount and kinds of U.S. goods they will allow into their markets. The trade deficit has also increased because American consumers continue to buy goods made overseas rather than those produced in the United States. This occurs because foreign goods are often less expensive than American products. But why are imports less expensive than American goods?

One reason is that the cost of labor in many foreign countries is much lower than American labor. In addition, the productivity (the amount of goods produced per worker hour) of foreign workers increased more during some periods than American productivity increased. This increased productivity has lowered the cost of foreign goods relative to American goods. Moreover, the value of the dollar relative to other currencies affects the cost of goods. When the value of the dollar is low, American goods are relatively less expensive both at home and abroad. When the value of the dollar is high, American goods cost more than foreign goods.

U.S. Trading Relationships. The United States dramatically expanded its trading partnerships in 1994. Experts believe that new agreements with Pacific Basin and Latin American nations will expand free trade throughout the world in the twenty-first century.

The European Community. Throughout 1992 and 1993, U.S. and European trade officials continued the Uruguay Round of GATT talks in hopes of finalizing a new world trade agreement. In December 1993, negotiators from the United States and Europe broke the deadlock over agriculture and other trade issues and approved the biggest free trade agreement in history. The GATT accord eliminated tariffs on thousands of products, scaled back export subsidies, and created the World Trade Organization (WTO), a new international body that will enforce the new trade rules. World leaders believe the new GATT accord will increase worldwide economic output by more than $500 billion.

Despite concern by some consumer advocates that the WTO's decisions on trade disputes may infringe on U.S. sovereignty, the U.S. Congress easily passed the new GATT accord in late 1994. Its passage was ensured after the Clinton administration added an escape clause that allows the United States to withdraw from the treaty if Congress feels that the WTO's rulings are unfair to U.S. trade concerns.

North American Free Trade Agreement. In November 1993, Congress approved the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Under NAFTA, Canada, Mexico, and the United States will gradually eliminate barriers on farm products and manufactured goods and remove restrictions on "cross-border" investments. In early 1995, one full year after NAFTA went into effect, many economists believed it was too early to evaluate accurately the effects of NAFTA on the U.S. economy. Yet American car exports to Mexico increased by more than 500 percent in 1994. About 60 percent of the 1994 growth in U.S. exports was attributed to sales to Mexico and Canada. In spite of increased exports to NAFTA partners, the Department of Labor reported that there were more than 12,000 NAFTA-related job losses in the United States—mostly small manufacturers producing low-tech goods. However, economists estimate that some 100,000 more American jobs were created than were lost.

At the December 1994 Summit of the Americas, President Clinton, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, and Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo agreed to allow Chile to join NAFTA. Moreover, the United States and thirty-three other nations from the Western Hemisphere agreed to create a treaty within ten years to expand free trade throughout the Americas.

Trade with Japan and Asia. Tensions between the United States and Japan intensified in 1994 because of Japan's trade advantage of $65 billion a year over the United States. Some Americans believe this imbalance exists because the Japanese impose strict trade barriers to keep foreign goods out of their market.

In October 1994, after fifteen months of negotiations, Japan agreed to open its market to more U.S. companies, including insurance, telecommu-

At the Summit of the Americas meeting in December 1994, leaders from thirty-three Western Hemisphere nations agreed to create a hemispheric free-trade pact by 2005.

The White House

nications, and medical equipment industries. However, agreements about autos and auto parts, which account for 60 percent of the U.S.-Japan trade deficit, were not reached.

In November 1994, President Clinton met with leaders from seventeen Pacific Basin nations in Indonesia. In a document called the Bogor Declaration, the United States and several Asian nations agreed to establish free trade among their countries by 2020.

Current Issues

Free Trade and U.S. Jobs. Nations that trade goods have one primary goal: economic improvement. A country becomes more prosperous as more of its available workers are employed. Therefore, policymakers and economists look to the unemployment rate as one indicator of the health of the U.S. economy. Free trade's effect on the number and quality of U.S. jobs is a matter of debate among many lawmakers and economists.

Critics of NAFTA and GATT argue that these agreements will result in a huge loss of American jobs, particularly in low-technology manufacturing. They say that recent trade treaties encourage American businesses to move their factories to Mexico or China where employees work for less money. Critics of free trade contend that these low-skilled jobs are very important to the health of the U.S. economy and society. They argue that as these jobs disappear, unskilled and poorly educated workers often cannot find new jobs in manufacturing. They usually cannot afford retraining to move to higher-skilled jobs and often rely on the government for unemployment assistance. Consequently, the U.S. economy suffers not only from lost productivity, but also from increased entitlement spending. Moreover, many experts argue that losing low-skilled manufacturing jobs also worsens the gap in wages between middle- and lower-income people, contributing to more economic and social inequality in the United States.

Proponents of free trade contend that liberalized trade policies actually improve the number and quality of American jobs. Although some U.S. industries may lose some low-skilled jobs, many experts say that free-trade agreements result in increased U.S. exports, which creates many more U.S. jobs than are lost by importing foreign goods. Moreover, many of the newly created jobs are in high-tech fields where U.S. workers can make more money. Supporters of free trade point to the U.S. unemployment rate, which dropped from 6.7 percent to 5.4 percent during 1994, the first year after the enactment of NAFTA. The Department of Commerce estimates that 130,000 U.S. jobs were secured through increased exports to Mexico in 1994 alone. Supporters of free trade further argue that increased trade through the Uruguay Round of GATT will generate hundreds of thousands more jobs in the United States.

U.S. Trade with Japan. Despite having negotiated more than thirty separate trade agreements with Japan over the years, the United States had a $65 billion trade deficit with Japan in 1994, more than 40 percent of the total U.S. trade deficit. Many Americans believe that the trade gap with Japan is so large because Japan restricts access of U.S. products to its markets. In October 1994, after more than a year of intense negotiations and threats of trade sanctions, U.S. officials persuaded Japanese leaders to open their market to a few U.S. industries. However, they were unable to reach an agreement with Japanese leaders about cars and car parts, the largest contributors to the trade deficit. Some lawmakers advocate imposing trade barriers on Japanese products if Japanese leaders do not open their market more fully to U.S. goods.

Reuters/Bettmann

Since the North American Free Trade Agreement was approved in 1993, many other Latin American countries have asked to join. In 1994, NAFTA members agreed to allow Chile to join the pact. However, critics of expanding free trade fear that foreign workers who earn low wages, like these in a Mexican factory, may rob the U.S. economy of jobs.

Advocates of tariffs and quotas believe that Japan exploits the U.S. marketplace at the expense of American industries. Supporters of trade barriers contend that although the Japanese government has signed agreements, it allows Japanese government agencies to continue discriminatory practices against U.S. products. Many Americans say that trade bariers would force Japan's government to open its market because the Japanese economy relies heavily on exports to the United States. They think that both American businesses and Japanese consumers would benefit.

Opponents of trade restrictions warn that imposing protectionist measures would be disastrous for the American economy. U.S. trade restrictions could provoke Japan and perhaps other nations to retaliate by buying fewer American-made products and erecting more of their own trade barriers. Consumers in the United States would then be the ultimate losers because they would have to pay more for foreign-made goods. In addition, many experts argue that protectionism would cut off America's export market, access to which many economists contend is crucial for economic growth and job creation.

Managed Trade. Many Americans believe a policy of managed trade would better serve the U.S. economy. Proponents of managed trade argue that the current system allows foreign countries to unfairly keep U.S. goods out of their markets. These countries have helped their own industries export products to the United States.

Advocates of a managed trade policy say the U.S. government would help its promising industries export their products by giving them money for high-tech research or by repealing laws that prevent U.S. companies from cooperating with one another. In addition, the government can aid U.S. exporters by negotiating agreements with other countries. Supporters of managed trade believe that these agreements would open foreign markets to American goods in exchange for U.S. commitments to lower trade barriers for foreign goods. Under managed trade, the government would make more decisions about what industries produce, how much they export, and with whom they trade.

Opponents of managed trade see it as a threat to free trade. They argue that the market, not the government, should determine which goods countries produce, import, and export. They say that if left alone, the market will determine which products a country can most profitably export and

Japanese cars and car parts accounted for nearly two-thirds of Japan's $65 million trade surplus with the United States in 1994. U.S. and Japanese officials have not yet reached agreements on how to reduce the trade gap on these items.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

which products it should import. Governments that manage trade risk wasting money by supporting industries that may prove to be less profitable. These companies may find that they are unable to export their products to countries that can produce the same product for less. Thus, such industries would close, causing unemployment and recession. Some experts further contend that managed trade undermines the GATT system, which has contributed to unprecedented economic growth since World War II. They fear that if the GATT system is undermined by special agreements between countries and by government aid to exporters, the world risks slower economic growth or even recession.

Outlook

Although 1994 was a banner year for free trade, large trade deficits and continued layoffs in many American industries have caused many people to believe that the United States has not benefitted by its support of free trade. Many U.S. industries have lost profits to foreign companies and have increased pressure on the government to enact tariffs and quotas against foreign competitors. Members of Clinton administration believe such a policy would hurt the U.S. and global economies. The U.S. government has sought other methods to increase its exports and reduce the trade deficit by negotiating trade agreements with other major nations. However, some Americans believe that stronger measures are needed to make the United States more competitive. In a few years, the effects of NAFTA and GATT should answer questions about whether opening American markets to the world is beneficial or harmful to the U.S. economy.

The Debate

International Trade

Free Trade Will Result in a Loss in the Number of U.S. Jobs.

PRO

Free-trade agreements encourage U.S. businesses to move their factories to less developed countries where labor is inexpensive. Therefore, such policies reduce the number of American jobs, especially those in low-technology manufacturing. The federal government cannot afford to support low-skilled, unemployed workers, nor can it afford to retrain them. Therefore, free trade will heighten tensions among economic classes, creating social unrest as well as financial peril.

CON

Free trade creates more markets for U.S. exports, thereby increasing the number and quality of American jobs. In the first year of NAFTA, more than 100,000 new jobs were created from expanded trade in the region. Job growth will increase even more with the implementation of GATT and future agreements with Pacific Basin and Western Hemisphere nations. In addition, expanding free trade improves U.S. foreign relations and reinforces economic reforms overseas.

The United States Should Take Retaliatory Measures to Reduce the Trade Deficit with Japan.

PRO

Despite many U.S.-Japan trade agreements, the U.S. trade deficit with Japan has consistently increased. Erecting trade barriers against Japanese goods would show that the United States is serious about reducing the trade imbalance. Japan's economy relies on exports to the United States, so U.S. trade barriers would force Japan to cooperate. Japan would then see that increased U.S. exports to Japan would benefit Japanese consumers.

CON

Trade negotiations with Japan have suffered from frequent changes in Japanese leadership and a long Japanese recession. Imposing trade barriers against Japan would be dangerous to the U.S. economy. If the United States imposed trade barriers, Japan and perhaps other countries would retaliate with barriers against American products, leading to U.S. job losses and recession. Only free trade promises prosperity for the U.S. economy.

The U.S. Government Should Try to Manage Trade.

PRO

The trade deficit has come about because other governments subsidize exports and block American imports. The U.S. government should counter these policies with similar intervention measures. The government can provide subsidies, finance research, and allow competing companies to cooperate in developing new technologies. The government can also help domestic industries by negotiating trade agreements with other countries.

CON

Managed trade will destroy the free and open market. Managed trade is protectionism by another name. Agreements with other nations to restrict exports raise the prices of restricted goods for American consumers. If the government supports industries that turn out to be unprofitable because they still cannot compete in the world market, the government will have wasted its money and done nothing to reduce the trade deficit.

Europe

In the early 1990s, Europe was on the verge of becoming a powerful economic region and a formidable presence on the world stage. By 1991, in the wake of the collapse of communism in eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War, East and West Germany had united to become one nation—one that many predicted would become an enormous economic power. Germany and the eleven other western European nations that make up the European Community (EC) signed the Maastricht Treaty, the blueprint for a "United Europe." However, Europe has yet to live up to its promise: Only recently has the EC begun recovering from a long economic recession; rivalry and suspicion among nations has undermined unity; and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has brought violent nationalism back to the continent.

The United States' relationship with Europe has always been an important one. After World War II, the United States protected its European allies from the Soviet Union. Now, in the post-Cold War world, the United States looks to Europe as an economic partner. While U.S. and European leaders have reached agreements on trade, they disagree on some security issues, most notably what to do in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Searching for economic and defense policies that will be beneficial on both sides of the Atlantic will continue to be a challenge for U.S. policymakers in 1995 and 1996.

Key Questions

- Should the United States send aid to eastern European countries?
- Should the United States continue to defend Europe?
- Should the United States send a peacekeeping force to Bosnia?

Background

The East-West Split

Yalta. In February 1945, before World War II had ended, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet General Secretary Joseph Stalin met at the Soviet resort of Yalta to discuss the rebuilding of Europe.

The three leaders agreed that when the war was over, both Germany and its capital, Berlin, would be divided into occupation zones: France, Great Britain, and the United States would occupy the western zones of Germany and Berlin, and the Soviet Union would occupy the eastern zones. The task of liberating eastern Europe from Nazi control was given to the Soviet Union because its army was already firmly in position there. Stalin promised that free elections would be held in all the nations in Europe that his troops had liberated.

Europe Divided. However, within weeks after Stalin's forces drove the Nazis from eastern Europe, the Soviets established communist governments in Poland and Romania. Having been attacked by the Germans twice in twenty-five years, Soviet leaders sought to set up a buffer zone—a geographic area under Soviet control separating Germany from the Soviet Union. Soon the Soviets forced communist governments on Hungary and Bulgaria, and native communists seized power in Yugoslavia and Albania. Germany became a divided nation. The United States, Great Britain, and France controlled the western part of the country and kept troops in West Berlin, a divided city located 120 miles inside Soviet-controlled East Germany. In July 1948, the United States announced the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The Soviets responded by declaring East Germany to be the

National Archives

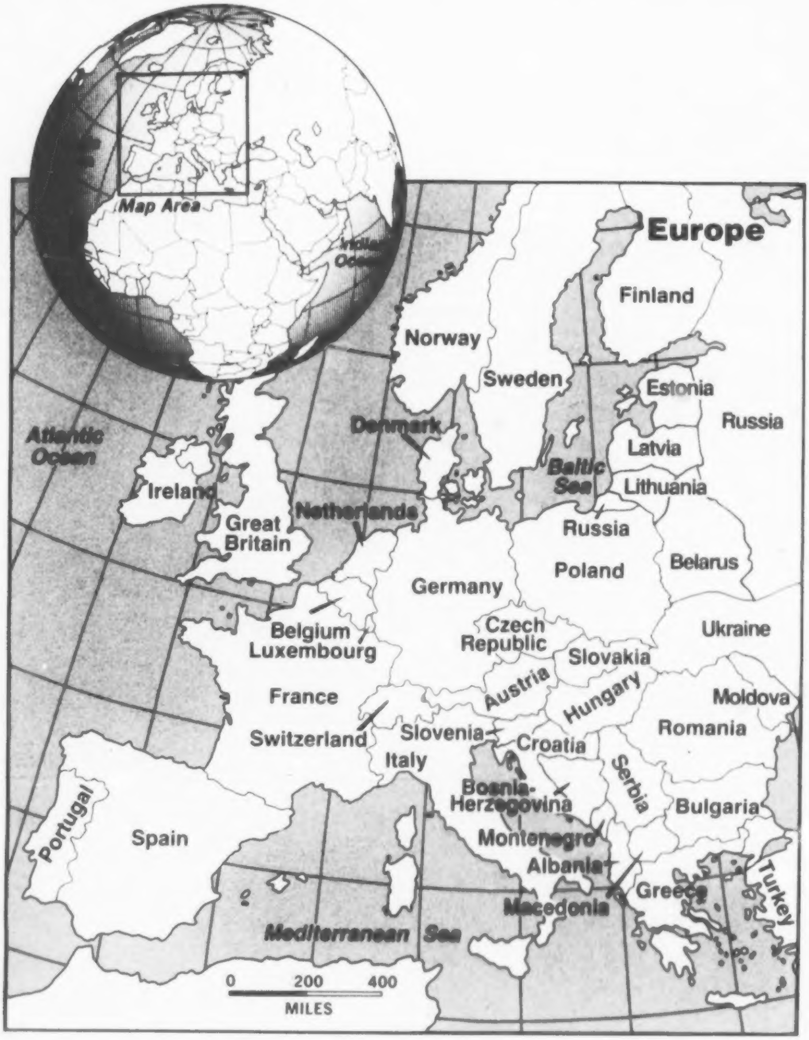
In 1945, before the defeat of Nazi Germany, the three Allied leaders, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet General Secretary Joseph Stalin, met at Yalta to set the stage for the postwar division of Europe.

new German Democratic Republic in October of that year. The division of Germany into two nations completed the split between the democratic countries of western Europe and the communist countries of eastern Europe.

The United States and Western Europe

The Marshall Plan and NATO. World War II left much of Europe devastated, its economies ruined, and its people desperate. A program called the Marshall Plan (1947-53) provided billions of dollars in U.S. aid, investment, and trade to rebuild western Europe. U.S. officials believed that a strong European economy would prevent a rebirth of fascism or an insurgence of communism and that a strong European military would keep the Soviets from America's doorstep.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—a military alliance—was established in 1949 to deter an armed communist attack in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Germany
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Europe. All member countries contribute to NATO's budget, and many provide troops for NATO's forces, but the commander of these forces has always been from the United States. Sixteen nations belong to NATO—Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United

Kingdom, and the United States. In 1955, the Soviet Union and its east European allies—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania—formed a counterpart to NATO called the Warsaw Pact.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact stationed thousands of troops, tanks, and combat aircraft on European soil and installed nuclear missiles aimed at each other.

The European Economic Community. In 1957, western European nations formed the European Economic Community, now called the European Community or EC. In some ways, EC members—Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom—operate as though they were one country. Member countries try to plan their economies to complement one another and work together to strengthen European competition in the world market by establishing uniform trade rules and policies. Many economists believe that EC policies helped create the economic boom that western Europe enjoyed during the 1950s and 1960s.

European Unification. In 1985, EC leaders decided to create a single European market where money, people, and goods could cross borders freely. This "Fortress Europe" would be the world's largest and wealthiest free-trade market and, many hoped, would usher in an era of economic prosperity for the whole continent. In January 1992, European leaders signed the Maastricht Treaty, which outlined plans for monetary union, the creation of a single currency, and coordination of EC foreign and defense policies.

However, the road to their nations' approval of European unity hit major economic and political obstacles. The continuing economic problems across the continent soured many

Europeans on the idea of economic integration with their neighbors. Growing nationalism provoked concerns in France and Great Britain about handing over too much of their national sovereignty to a central European authority. After bruising political battles in France and Great Britain over European unification, the Maastricht Treaty was finally approved by twelve member nations. On November 1, 1993, the European Union (EU) officially went into effect, but with little fanfare. In 1994, Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined the EU, but Norway, in a national referendum, rejected membership. The EU has plans to eventually include such eastern European nations as the Czech Republic and Poland.

Embassy of Germany

Helmut Kohl became president of Germany after East and West Germany reunified in 1990. Kohl had led West Germany since 1982.

Western Europe and U.S. Economic Policies. In 1993, the United States and the European Community negotiated a new trade agreement as part of the larger General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The new GATT accord is projected to add about $500 billion to the global economy by the end of the decade. The United States and the EC were determined to resolve their disputes in part because the continuing economic problems in Europe had become a drag on the world economy.

The economies of Europe and the United States are closely connected. Europeans often describe their relationship to the U.S. economy by saying, "When the United States has a cold, western Europe gets pneumonia." Europeans follow closely news about the strength of the U.S. dollar, the U.S. budget and trade deficits, and the outlook for the American economy.

Changes in Eastern Europe

The Collapse of Communism. In 1989 and 1990, the Soviet Union allowed its east European allies

Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia to abandon communism and hold democratic elections. The new democracies face tough transitions, with many suffering from high inflation and large-scale unemployment. Many countries have requested large sums of aid from the United States, western Europe, and the United Nations to help ensure a peaceful transition to democracy and development of market economies.

The Reunification of Germany. When East Germany abandoned communism, the question of reunification with West Germany was immediately raised. The four victorious powers from World War II—France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—and the two Germanys began reunification negotiations in May 1990. When the Soviet Union agreed to allow a united Germany to join NATO, the final barrier to reunification fell. The economies of the two countries were joined in July 1990, when East Germany adopted the West German deutsche mark as its currency. Political union followed on October 3.

In 1990, many U.S. officials predicted that a united Germany would become an economic superpower. However, in the early part of the decade, Germany—often called the "engine of the European Community"—was bogged down in a deep recession, caused in great part by the cost of reunification. Western Germany had to invest heavily to help transform eastern Germany's economy. These investments increased the national debt and have yet to pay financial dividends for the entire country. Rising inflation and unemployment and declining productivity eroded confidence that Germany can be a leader on the international stage. Although Germany has seen increased economic growth recently, unemployment remains high.

Peace in Northern Ireland?

In February 1995, British Prime Minister John Major and Irish Prime Minister John Bruton unveiled a "framework document" to end the conflict between Protestants and Catholics in the British-ruled province of Northern Ireland (Ulster). Under the framework, Great Britain will accept the will of the majority of the people to determine whether the province remains part of the United Kingdom or joins the Republic of Ireland; Ireland will drop its constitutional claim to Northern Ireland; and a new Northern Ireland parliament will be elected by proportional representation.

The Demilitarization of Europe. Changes in eastern Europe hastened arms reductions on the continent. In 1987, President Ronald Reagan and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty to eliminate U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range, land-based nuclear missiles in Europe. The changes brought about commitments to reduce conventional forces as well. In 1990, the United States, the Soviet Union, and their respective European allies signed the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), an agreement to eliminate thousands of conventional weapons, including tanks, artillery pieces, armored combat vehicles, aircraft, and helicopters, by 1995. Soviet forces withdrew from Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1991. In addition, leaders from the former Soviet republics have removed the 380,000 troops stationed in eastern Germany, and are laying plans to withdraw from the other east European countries as well. By 1995, American troops in Europe numbered around 100,000—down from a high of more than 300,000 during the 1980s.

The Rise of Nationalism. Since the end of the Cold War, eastern Europe has seen the reemergence of nationalism. Nationalism—a people's devotion to its religion, culture, or ethnicity—has been a major force in practically all major international conflicts of the twentieth century.

In 1991, Yugoslavia was torn apart by ethnic hatred and fierce nationalism. Yugoslavia had been created after World War I by joining six formerly independent republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. Tensions among Yugoslavia's ethnically and religiously different populations ran deep, but communist rule kept a lid on potential conflicts for forty years.

UN Photo 159206/S. Whitehouse

A United Nations truck passes through a destroyed town in Croatia, a former republic of Yugoslavia.

After Soviet domination over eastern Europe ended in 1990, Serbia, the largest and most militarily powerful of the Yugoslav republics, began a campaign to unite the other territories under the banner of "Greater Serbia." In June 1991, Croatia declared its independence and seceded from Yugoslavia. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic sent troops into Croatia to stop the move, but Croatia won its independence after a bloody conflict. Soon the heavily Muslim republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina followed Croatia's lead and declared its independence. Encouraged by Milosevic, the Serbian minority living in Bosnia declared war with the goal of creating their own Serb-controlled country within Bosnia. The conflict between the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats has turned much of Bosnia into a war zone. Once it became possible that the violence could spill over into neighboring countries, the international community made resolution of the conflict a priority.

Current Issues

Aid to Eastern Europe. When the countries of eastern Europe took steps to abandon their communist systems in favor of democratic and economic reforms, their economies were in ruins. Factories were outdated, and productivity was low. Eastern European economies were years behind those in the West. As the former communist countries began to adopt free-market systems, their economies often experienced high inflation, a decline in output, and unemployment.

Some members of Congress want to set up an economic aid program to help those countries establish market-oriented economic systems. They say that the United States should help rebuild the economies of eastern Europe, just as it helped rebuild western Europe after World War II. They call for programs to send U.S. funds to the former communist nations, reduce or eliminate their debts, provide management training, and encourage investment. The United States sent $400 million in foreign aid to eastern Europe in 1994; half of that amount went to Poland. Some members of Congress say that more aid is needed. They believe that American aid will encourage these countries to continue to adopt the difficult economic reforms that will eventually benefit their people and provide more markets for U.S. goods.

Other U.S. senators and representatives think that the United States should not increase foreign aid to eastern Europe, arguing that the government cannot afford to increase foreign aid when it faces economic problems and a huge budget deficit at home. Opponents of aid to eastern Europe argue that the world's poorest nations and the important strategic allies of the United States in the Middle East will suffer unfairly if aid is diverted to eastern Europe. In addition, other U.S. policymakers argue that the United States should delay giving aid until it is clear that these new eastern European governments are truly on their way to becoming free, democratic societies.

Military Presence in Europe. Since the end of World War II, much of the military strategy of the United States has centered on the defense of Europe. During the 1980s, the United States maintained a force of about 300,000 soldiers in Europe, most of whom were located near the East-West border. However, as a result of the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the U.S. government has reduced the number of troops in Europe to roughly 100,000, closing more than 100 military installations. Some lawmakers insist that the reduction should be even greater, including closing additional bases and trimming U.S. forces in Europe to around 60,000 people.

Other arguments for scaling down U.S. troop presence are that Europe has been basically peaceful since 1945, and that the collapse of communism has virtually eliminated outside

Oswald Butler

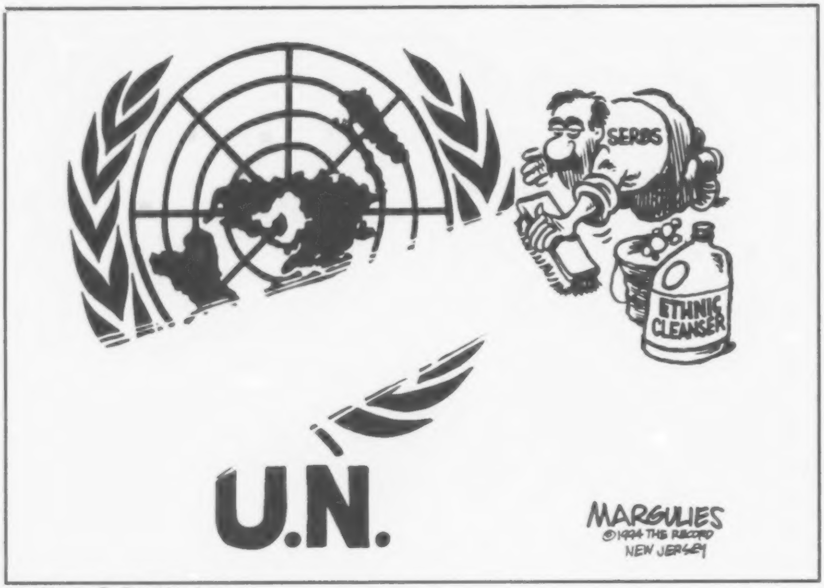
Today, there are about 100,000 U.S. troops in Europe, a dramatic decrease from the 1980s high of 300,000.

threats. In addition, Americans who favor a major pullout contend that Europe is strong enough to defend itself; the United States can no longer afford to provide for the defense of its allies.

Officials who want to keep a substantial number of U.S. troops in Europe contend that a strong American presence is still needed to make sure conflicts such as the war in Bosnia do not spread. In addition, they point out that until Russia is completely successful in establishing capitalism and democracy, the United States must remain in Europe in case Moscow returns to communist or totalitarian rule and threatens U.S. allies. In response to the argument that the United States carries an unfair burden for defending Europe, supporters of a strong U.S. presence in Europe say that such reasoning ignores Europe's substantial contributions to NATO. They point out that Europe's NATO members already provide most of the soldiers, combat planes, armored divisions, and fighting ships within the alliance and that the U.S. presence is necessary to support these forces.

War in Bosnia. When war broke out in the former Yugoslavia in 1991, neither the United States nor its European allies were prepared to deal with the crisis. Many U.S. officials believed that nationalist conflicts were inevitable in the post-Cold War era and that such conflicts would die out eventually. Western Europe was too preoccupied with its own economic and political problems to concentrate on a civil war in a distant eastern European country.

The war in the former Yugoslavia republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina worsened throughout 1992. Reports emerged describing shocking human rights abuses committed by Serbian troops, including "ethnic cleansing"—the random detention and murder of Muslim men,



Jimmy Margulies/The Record, New Jersey

women, and children. As the fighting escalated, the global community's peacemaking efforts intensified.

In 1993, multilateral peace efforts, most notably the Vance-Owen plan, failed to bring an end to the fighting. Named after its authors, UN envoy Cyrus Vance and EC envoy David Owen, the Vance-Owen plan called for the division of Bosnia into ten semiautonomous regions to be distributed evenly to the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. In July 1993, the Croats and Muslims signed on to the plan; the Serbs refused. The following months brought more fighting, and the hopes for peace vanished.

Early in his administration, President Clinton declared that the United States would play an active role in ending the war in Bosnia. In the spring of 1993, the United States and its European allies came very close to intervening militarily in the conflict, but could not agree on a course of action. Air strikes on Serb positions and lifting the arms embargo against the Muslims—whose forces are vastly inferior to the Serbs' forces—were proposed by President Clinton but rejected by Great Britain. By the end of 1994, U.S. military intervention in the conflict seemed unlikely. However, the Clinton administration did not rule out the possibility that U.S. forces, in the event of a peace agreement, could be deployed to Bosnia as part of a UN peacekeeping force.

Advocates of a U.S. military operation in Bosnia believe that peace there is impossible without the presence of a formidable United Nations peacekeeping force made up in large part by American forces. They argue that until the crisis is resolved, nationalist violence may spread to other parts of eastern Europe, and that such an occurrence would destabilize a huge part of the continent. In addition, proponents of a U.S. military presence contend that if the United States retreats from participating in UN peacekeeping missions around the world, aggressive nations will be encouraged to wage wars on weak neighbors and rival ethnic groups.

However, opponents of U.S. military intervention warn that what awaits the United States in the former Yugoslavia may well be another Somalia, only worse. They say that like the American military mission in that African nation in 1992 and 1993, a peacekeeping mission in Bosnia would be dangerous and lack clear objectives. Critics ask: When would the mission end? When could U.S. forces return fire? Who would command American troops—the United States or the United Nations? Opponents also argue that the former Yugoslavia is of no national security interest to the United States; it is a European problem that requires a European solution.

Outlook

In many respects, Europe remains as unstable and unpredictable as ever. The move toward economic and political unification has stumbled, and nationalist conflicts have spread to a number of eastern European nations. Although the end of the Cold War has allowed the United States to reduce its troop presence in Europe, many experts believe that the problems now facing the continent are of vital U.S. national interest. The economic prosperity of the United States depends in large part on European prosperity. Economic and military cooperation between the United States and Europe is essential if the global economy is to improve and the threat of rising eastern European nationalism is to be contained.

The Debate

Europe

The United States Should Send Aid to Eastern European Countries.

PRO

The United States should help rebuild the economies of eastern Europe just as it helped western Europe through the Marshall Plan forty-five years ago. Money from the United States can help encourage the eastern Europeans to adopt market economies. If economic aid accomplishes this goal, the United States would have new trading partners and would be able to reduce spending on U.S. defense in Europe.

CON

Sending economic aid to eastern Europe would mean reducing aid to impoverished nations in the developing world. Some African countries would have to be eliminated from U.S. aid programs. In addition, it is too early to tell if reform-minded eastern European leaders will be successful. Before it sends aid, the U.S. government should be sure that the new governments in eastern Europe will continue to promote democracy.

The United States Should Continue to Defend Europe.

PRO

Withdrawing vast numbers of American troops from Europe could jeopardize the security of Europe. Civil wars in eastern Europe pose a huge risk to the stability of the continent. The future of democracy and capitalism in the former Soviet republics is uncertain. U.S. troops are needed to protect peaceful Europeans from local uprisings and violence.

CON

U.S. troops stationed in western Europe are costly for American taxpayers. Communism is no longer a threat, and European nations are rich enough to pay entirely for their own defense. Bringing troops home would save the United States billions of dollars and force the Europeans to maintain their own armies and provide their own military hardware.

The United States Should Send a Peacekeeping Force to Bosnia.

PRO

The war in Bosnia is a threat to European stability, which is a vital U.S. national interest. Nationalism and ethnic hatred must be stopped before they spread. If the three warring sides reach a peace agreement, the United States must contribute to a UN peacekeeping force. Without U.S. participation, a "peace" in the former Yugoslavia would fail. An armed coalition between the United States and the United Nations could contain a potential renewal of Serb and Croat aggression and prevent neighboring countries from erupting in violence.

CON

Attempts to keep the peace in Somalia demonstrated that UN peacekeeping missions are poorly planned and implemented. A similar mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina would result in a prolonged involvement and many American casualties. The Serbs, Croats, and Muslims hate each other; there can never be true peace in that region. A mission there would be dangerous and never-ending. The United States has no vital national security interest to protect by committing its troops to a small and dangerous eastern European country.

Nuclear Proliferation

Since the United States developed the first atomic weapons in the 1940s, many other nations have sought the power and prestige nuclear arms represent. However, during the 1970s and 1980s the spread, or proliferation, of nuclear weapons alarmed the global community. Today, most world leaders agree that the proliferation of nuclear weapons is dangerous and destabilizing. Nevertheless, some nations continue their quest for the bomb; the technology to build nuclear weapons is no longer new, and many nations have the ability to make them or even to help other nations do so. Therefore, international agreements—and the organizations that ensure compliance with such treaties—are important in controling nuclear proliferation.

In the 1960s, U.S. leaders spearheaded the nuclear nonproliferation movement by rallying support for the UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the cornerstone of global antiproliferation efforts. U.S. leaders have also negotiated and ratified recent arms control treaties with Russia, and they support creating a new treaty to ban the testing of nuclear weapons underground.

Recently, however, antiproliferation efforts have also targeted conventional arms because nations in volatile regions are purchasing large amounts of sophisticated conventional weaponry. Most experts believe that the spread of conventional armaments and the development of nuclear weapons are major threats to global stability and look to the United States to help lead antiproliferation efforts around the world.

Key Questions

- Are current nuclear safeguards adequate?
- Should the United States stop selling nuclear materials and technology?
- Should the United States stop exporting conventional weapons to unstable parts of the world?

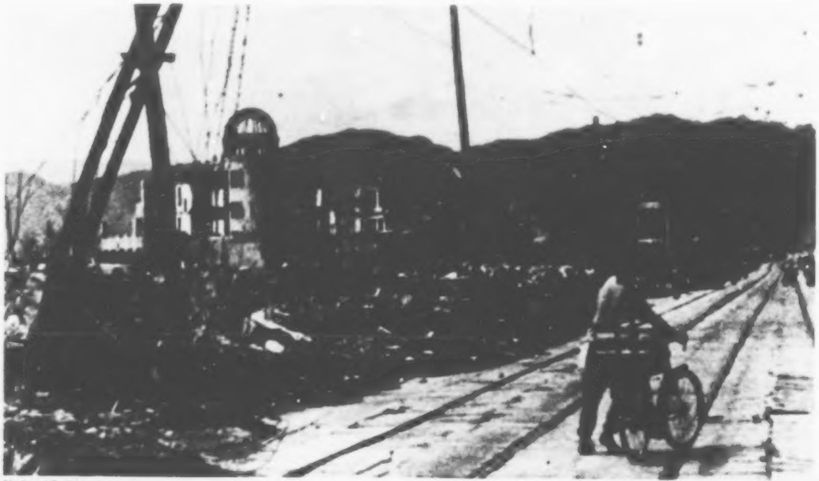
Background

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

The Atomic Bomb and the United States. In August 1945, the United States dropped atomic (nuclear) bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. The attacks led to Japan's surrender and the end of World War II.

The world had witnessed the awesome power of nuclear technology. Soon after the war, the United States, in the Baruch Plan, proposed to the United Nations that all nuclear technology and materials be controlled by an international agency. The Soviet Union, however, vetoed this proposal and argued for a more immediate destruction of all existing nuclear bombs. The Soviets wanted to exploit their advantages in conventional arms and troop size by eliminating all nuclear weapons. Because no agreement on international control of nuclear weapons could be reached, Soviet leaders decided to continue their research on building nuclear devices. U.S. hopes of a nuclear monopoly were

In 1945, two U.S. atomic bombs leveled the cities of Hiroshima (shown here) and Nagasaki, Japan. The awesome power of nuclear weapons prompted many nations to try to build or buy nuclear arms.



National Archives

shattered when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic device in 1949. Great Britain followed suit in 1952.

An Expanding Nuclear Club. In the early 1960s, both France and China detonated atomic bombs, adding to the number of members in the "nuclear club." The three original nuclear powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—worried that even more nations would develop the bomb. They rationalized that as one nation in a particular region goes nuclear, its neighbors or rivals also want nuclear weapons to avoid or defend against attack, thus increasing the risk of nuclear warfare or accidents. Many nonnuclear countries resented this assumption, contending that they would be just as careful in their use of nuclear weapons as the original members of the nuclear club.

Nonproliferation Treaties. As more nations gained nuclear weapons in the 1960s, the possibility of nuclear confrontation grew. The United States and other nuclear nations began a campaign to persuade other countries from attempting to acquire nuclear capability.

UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The 1968 United Nations Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) was designed to halt the spread of nuclear weapons and promote peaceful uses of nuclear power. It granted all nonnuclear signatories (signers) access to peaceful nuclear technology from participating nuclear powers. The nonnuclear countries had to promise that they would not use the technology to make weapons. The United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed the treaty, thereby agreeing that they would not help others build nuclear bombs and that they would reduce their nuclear weapons arsenals. Today 167 nations have signed the UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

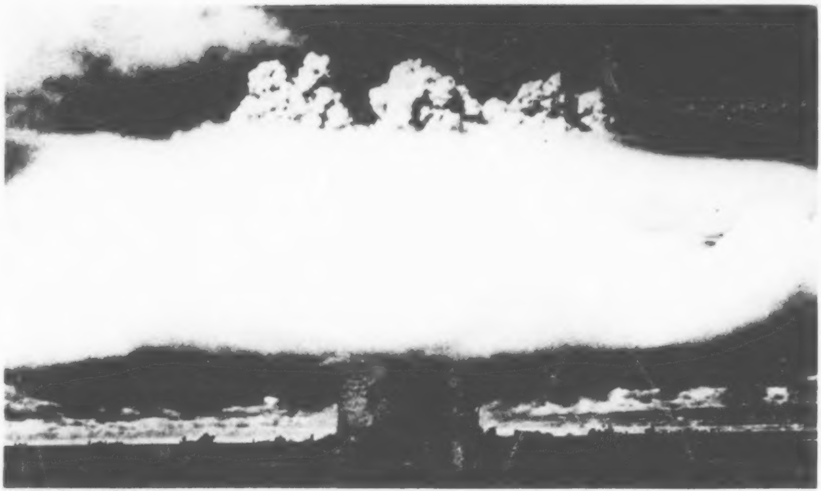
Yet India, Israel, and Pakistan—nations suspected of having developed nuclear weapons—have not signed. In 1995, members decided that the treaty should be extended indefinitely.

U.S. Nuclear Nonproliferation Act. In 1978, Congress passed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act, an example of the toughening international attitude toward controlling nuclear proliferation. This act restricts the export of U.S.-made nuclear materials and technology to countries suspected of developing nuclear weapons. It also reinforces earlier legislation that imposed restrictions on American foreign aid to such countries.

Future Nuclear Nations. Most experts believe that the five declared nuclear nations—the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China—are not the only nations with nuclear weapons. Other nations, including India, Iran, Israel, Libya, North Korea, and Pakistan, may have nuclear weapons or may be attempting to make them.

The United States, China, France, and Germany have supplied some countries with the knowledge, technology, and materials to construct nuclear reactors for power generation. However, the materials necessary and technology sold for peaceful purposes can be used to develop nuclear weapons. Although most nuclear transfers take place under internationally approved safeguards, a determined country may still develop nuclear bombs without being detected by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)—an agency of the United Nations.

Former Soviet Nuclear Weapons. Many Americans feared that the breakup of the Soviet Union into independent states would produce a nuclear "marketplace." A large number of Soviet long-range nuclear weapons were scattered across four republics—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. U.S. officials were concerned that



U.S. Department of Energy

During the Cold War, members of the nuclear club tested their nuclear weapons, which led to the development of larger, more powerful weapons.

unfriendly nations might bid for these weapons and technology.

However, some of those fears were reduced in January 1993, when U.S. and Russian leaders signed the START II agreement, which calls for a reduction of each country's nuclear arsenals by more than one-third. In addition, Belarus and Kazakhstan agreed to return their nuclear weapons to Russia. In 1994, Ukrainian leaders agreed to deactivate their nuclear weapons in exchange for U.S. aid and security assurances. However, many believe that even arms control accords such as these may neither prevent unemployed nuclear scientists from the former Soviet Union from selling their expertise to aggressive nations nor completely ensure that some nuclear weapons from the former Soviet republics will not find their way to other countries.

Such skeptics were therefore not surprised when, in August 1994, German officials seized about ten ounces of weapons-grade nuclear material in Munich, Germany. Later, in December 1994, officials in the Czech Republic confiscated a much larger amount—more than six pounds—of weapons-grade uranium. Analyses revealed that these nuclear materials probably came from Russia. Experts fear that these seizures represent only a small portion of the actual illegal trade.

Conventional Weapons

The Global Marketplace. During the Cold War, the arms control emphasis was on nuclear weapons. However, many experts believe the dramatic spread of conventional weapons is further destabilizing volatile regions of the world. They are now calling for a halt on weapons exports. The proliferation of conventional armaments has contributed to regional tensions and civil wars in the Middle East, Africa, parts of eastern Europe, and Asia.

Arms purchases are soaring in Asia. Nations as small as Singapore and as large as China are on a weapons shopping spree that concerns many world leaders. Because of booming local economies, some Asian countries have been able to increase their defense budgets. In addition, other countries in the region are building up their arsenals because they fear their larger, well-armed neighbors.

Volatile Middle Eastern countries are also purchasing high-tech weaponry. Syria and Iran are building what many experts fear will be formidable arsenals. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency believes these two countries may have chemical and biological weapons—which can be as deadly as nuclear weapons—by the end of the decade. Iraq is currently rebuilding its military through illegal foreign imports. The escalation of conventional arms levels in the Middle East and Asia could bring about regional warfare, which, some experts believe, may lead to U.S. intervention.

A New Nuclear Test Ban Treaty?

Concerned about environmental damage, the five nuclear powers signed a treaty to limit the testing of nuclear weapons in 1963. The Limited Test Ban Treaty made testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater illegal. Testing nuclear weapons underground remained legal, but by the early 1990s, some officials wanted all nuclear testing to cease.

In 1991, Russia announced it would no longer test nuclear weapons underground. France and the United States followed suit the following year. President Clinton extended the ban on U.S. nuclear tests through September 1995, encouraging other nations to do the same.

Many policymakers hope that world leaders will strengthen the nonproliferation movement by negotiating a new comprehensive test ban treaty to prohibit all types of nuclear weapons testing worldwide.

The Major Powers as Arms Dealers. Most arms-exporting countries agree that the proliferation of weapons in unstable regions of the world is a threat to global stability. However, reducing arms sales has been difficult because many of these nations, including the United States, depend on the development and export of weapons to help their economies. In most cases, the worldwide demand and the profits gained by selling conventional weapons are too great for arms-selling countries to ignore.

The five nations of the United Nations Security Council—China, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States—are the world's top arms exporters, responsible for 90 percent of all arms transfers.

In the United States, the end of the Cold War reduced the domestic demand for high-tech weaponry, resulting in the loss of thousands of jobs. In the early 1990s, the U.S. government encouraged defense contractors to sell their hardware overseas to protect against further defense industry layoffs. Moreover, Russia decreased its sales of conventional weaponry during this period, resulting in dramatic increases in U.S. arms sales. In the fiscal year ending October 1993, the United States sold $32 billion worth of arms abroad—an all-time high and more than double the 1992 total. Most of these sales were made to Egypt, Greece, Israel, Kuwait, South Korea, and Turkey.

Chemical Weapons Convention

In January 1993, 120 nations, including the United States and Russia, signed an agreement to ban the use, production, and stockpiling of poisonous gases and other chemical weapons. The accord calls for the destruction of all chemical weapons within ten years. It also establishes a system of on-site inspections of factories that are capable of producing chemical weapons.

Current Issues

How Effective Are Current Nuclear Safeguards? Many experts think that nuclear proliferation can be controlled but not stopped. They point out that the spread of nuclear weapons has slowed over the past twenty-five years, and that 167 nations have signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

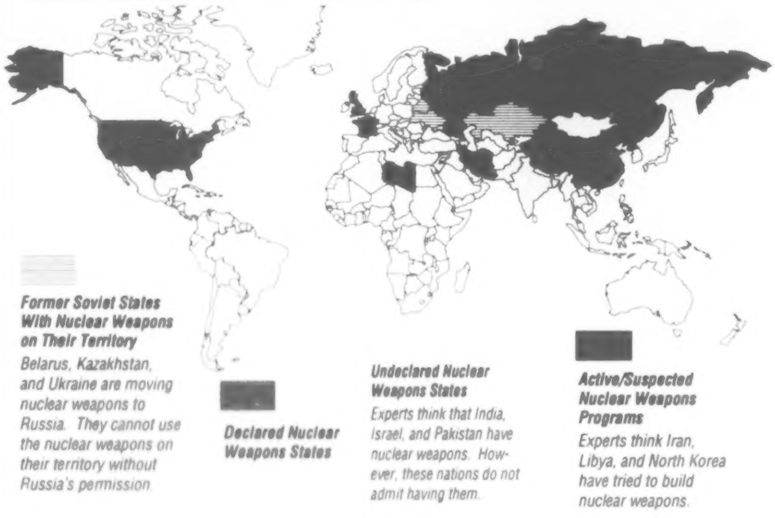
An important part of this nuclear slowdown, these experts argue, is the willingness of the international community to work together. Concern over the spread of nuclear weapons transcends ideological and political boundaries. Using diplomatic pressure and threats of trade sanctions and cutting off future nuclear cooperation, nations that supply peaceful nuclear technology have made other countries think twice about developing nuclear weapons.

Some authorities, however, believe that international unity on nuclear proliferation is impossible. They point to disagreements over answers to the problem, inconsistency in policy, and ineffective enforcement of international safeguards. They say that some governments will always want to develop nuclear weapons and that other nations will always be willing to provide the tools. As a result, many experts fear that nuclear proliferation may soon increase.

North Korea. In 1994, world leaders feared that North Korea—an isolated, hard-line communist country—was continuing its quest for nuclear capability despite international pressures not to do so. North Korean leaders denied that they were producing weapons-grade nuclear material—which would be a violation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Yet North Korean officials refused to allow international inspectors to visit some sites to verify the claim, and they even threatened to withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The United States warned North Korea that economic sanctions would be imposed if it continued to keep IAEA inspectors out. North Korean leaders replied that economic sanctions were tantamount to an act of war.

International crisis and potential armed conflict were averted when the two sides reached an agreement in October 1994. According to the new agreement, the United States, South Korea,

Nuclear Weapons in the World



▤ **Former Soviet States With Nuclear Weapons on Their Territory**
Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine are moving nuclear weapons to Russia. They cannot use the nuclear weapons on their territory without Russia's permission.

■ **Declared Nuclear Weapons States**

Undeclared Nuclear Weapons States
Experts think that India, Israel, and Pakistan have nuclear weapons. However, these nations do not admit having them.

■ **Active/Suspected Nuclear Weapons Programs**
Experts think Iran, Libya, and North Korea have tried to build nuclear weapons.

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

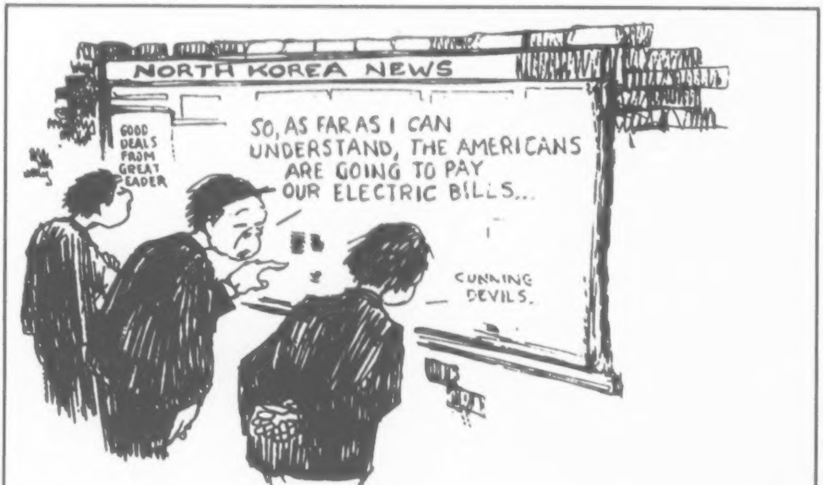
and Japan will help North Korea build nuclear energy reactors with new technology that would reduce North Korea's ability to produce weapons-grade nuclear material. In exchange, North Korea will allow inspections of its suspicious nuclear sites. However, North Korea does not have to permit inspections until the nuclear power plants are almost complete—about five years from the date of the agreement.

Restricting Sales of Nuclear Technology. Some American leaders have suggested that the United States set an example for the world by sharply restricting its own sales of nuclear technology. They convinced Congress to pass the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978, which denies nuclear technology to countries that the United States suspects of developing nuclear weapons.

In addition to the countries shown above, many other nations have the technology but not the desire to build nuclear weapons. They include Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovakia, South Korea, and Spain. Other nations had nuclear weapons programs in the 1980s but have since renounced such activities. They include Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Iraq, Romania, and South Africa.

Opponents of this approach argue that overly strict U.S. restrictions are ineffective because nations can easily find nuclear fuel and technical know-how elsewhere. They say that the United States should not deny nuclear technology to "nonrisk" nations—nations that are not seeking nuclear weapons. They argue that the United States can better control nuclear proliferation by being a predictable supplier of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

Selling Conventional Arms. Policymakers in the United States are divided over U.S. exports of conventional weapons. Many experts believe that if many nations are seeking nuclear weapons for security against potential attack, then selling them sophisticated conventional arms would improve their security. In addition, supporters of exporting conventional weapons believe that the United States has an economic incentive to sell these weapons. The development and manufacturing of


NORTH KOREA NEWS
GOOD DEALS FROM GREAT EADER
SO, AS FAR AS I CAN UNDERSTAND, THE AMERICANS ARE GOING TO PAY OUR ELECTRIC BILLS...
CUNNING DEVILS.
DANZIGER

Danziger in *The Christian Science Monitor* ©1994 TCSPS sophisticated military hardware accounts for hundreds of thousands of jobs in the United States.

However, critics of this approach say that selling weapons to countries in unstable regions only makes them more likely to get involved in war and does not reduce their desire for the ultimate weapon—the nuclear bomb. These opponents also point out that exporting arms to the Middle East during the 1980s helped Saddam Hussein create the formidable war machine that was used to invade Kuwait in 1990.

Outlook

Although the United States and Russia continue to reduce their nuclear stockpiles, the recent seizures of nuclear weapons-grade materials in Europe and the conflict over North Korea's nuclear program are evidence that atomic weapons are still in demand in some parts of the world. Such events highlight the importance of implementing strict controls to curb proliferation. In addition, experts say that international safeguards must be strongly enforced and regularly reviewed if the United States is to avoid having to negotiate another "nuclear deal" like that with North Korea. However, these daunting tasks are further complicated by the proliferation of conventional weapons. The U.S. government's policies on these issues today will be a major factor in determining the extent of global weapons proliferation in the twenty-first century. Indeed, those policies may well determine the safety of the planet itself.

The Debate

Nuclear Proliferation

Current Nuclear Safeguards Are Adequate.

PRO	CON
Various safeguards have been effective in slowing the spread of nuclear weapons. Diplomatic pressure, trade sanctions, and the threat of cutting off future nuclear cooperation have made many nations think twice about developing nuclear weapons. This safeguard system, established by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, is widely accepted and followed by most of the world's governments.	Current safeguards are not adequate. Some countries are building nuclear weapons anyway, proving that there is no foolproof way to prevent governments with peaceful nuclear reactors from also using that technology to build bombs. Some world leaders have refused to allow inspections of their facilities, and others continue to supply nonnuclear nations with nuclear technology and materials.

The United States Should Stop Selling Nuclear Materials and Technology.

PRO	CON
The next country to use the atomic bomb will not be the United States or another established nuclear power. It will be a country that has built a bomb from materials provided by nations in the nuclear club. If the United States continues selling weapons-related material, the question will not be who has the bomb, but who does not. A ban on the sale of nuclear technology and materials would limit world supplies and set an example for other nuclear exporters.	Halting U.S. sales of weapons-related materials and technology would only work if the United States were the sole supplier. Twenty-five years ago, the United States might have had such a monopoly, but today, China, France, Japan, Germany, and other countries are both able and willing to export nuclear materials and technology. Without the support of other countries, a U.S. ban would only result in lost business for the American nuclear industry.

The United States Should Stop Exporting Conventional Weapons to Unstable Regions of the World.

PRO	CON
In 1991, the United States and its allies had to fight a war in the Persian Gulf in large part because they had earlier sold Iraq advanced conventional weaponry. The United States continues to export arms to volatile world regions, promoting armed conflict in the Middle East and in Asia. Unless the sale of these weapons ends or is cut dramatically, the U.S. military will likely be pulled into regional conflicts that are being fought with U.S.-made weapons.	The United States will lose economically and strategically if it reduces its export of conventional weapons. Many Americans would lose their jobs, adding to the high number of unemployed workers in defense industries. Restricting arms sales could contribute to the insecurity of many countries, which would resume their attempts to obtain nuclear weapons. Arms exports also give the United States political leverage in many nations.

World Poverty

Although the world has made significant advances in agriculture and medicine over the years, more than a billion people—one-fifth of the world's population—still live in poverty. They suffer from hunger and disease; many are illiterate. Analysts estimate that several thousand children die each day of starvation and preventable diseases. Meanwhile, the world's population is predicted to swell from 5.7 billion today to more than 9.5 billion by 2050—further taxing Earth's limited resources.

Every year the United States and other industrialized nations send money and other forms of aid to countries that are struggling to feed their people and provide basic services. The United States often uses foreign aid to promote its own political or economic interests. For instance, aid can be used to influence the behavior of a recipient country.

In recent years, foreign aid programs have come under fire. Some critics say too much foreign aid goes to corrupt governments that never distribute it to the people who need it most. They think the money would be better spent on domestic programs in the United States. At the same time, foreign aid advocates argue that a rich nation such as the United States, which gives less than 1 percent of its annual federal budget, could give more. Poverty devastates human lives, and with them, Earth's forests, oceans, and atmosphere. In the interest of humanity and the environment, many critics say, the United States must lead the industrialized world in changing the pattern of world poverty.

Key Questions

- Should the United States reduce foreign aid?
- Should politics determine which countries receive U.S. aid?
- Should the United States promote family planning to stop population growth?

Background

North vs. South

The Terms of Poverty. During the Cold War, nations usually aligned themselves either with the Western democratic countries—the United States and Europe—or with the Eastern communist bloc—the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. When East-West tensions largely disappeared after the breakup of the Soviet empire in 1991, the relationship between needy and rich countries began to play a more prominent role in international politics. Developed countries with advanced, industrialized economies clearly had a much higher standard of living than countries trying to organize their economies and societies—the less developed countries (LDCs). Leaders of LDCs point to this unequal distribution of the world's wealth when they ask for more assistance. This tension is often called the North-South conflict, because richer, developed countries are predominantly located in the Northern Hemisphere, while poorer, less-developed countries generally are located near or south of the equator in Africa, Asia, and South America.

Agriculture in less developed countries relies on hand labor. Natural disasters such as droughts or floods can be devastating to people who depend on good growing conditions throughout the year.

United Nations

The Pattern of Poverty. More than a billion people live in conditions unimaginable to most Americans. In developing countries, most roads are unpaved and few villages have plumbing or electricity. Farming is still done with the most basic tools and techniques, and there is little industry. Health and sanitation standards are low, leading to rampant disease, a high rate of infant mortality, and a short life expectancy. Often more than half the population cannot read or write. In most of these countries, land and income are unequally distributed. The average yearly income in the poorest countries is equivelent to less than $200, while only a small percentage of people enjoy wealth.

The number of poverty-stricken people is growing. Estimates predict the world's population will surpass 9.5 billion by 2050, with the highest growth rates in the less developed nations. Two-thirds of the world's impoverished people are less than 15 years old. While women in developed countries each have two children on average during their lifetimes, women in some less developed regions give birth to more than six children on average. Rapid population growth places a burden on a nation's economic and natural resources. For example, experts say that 80 percent of deforestation results from population growth. Many advocates for helping people in need around the world recommend making birth control and family planning techniques widely available to couples in developing countries. Studies also show that in countries in which the population achieves higher levels of education, the birth rate tends to be lower; thus, many developing countries are trying to improve literacy rates and general education.

United Nations

In many cities fashionable high-rise apartments border slums and shanty towns. The contrasting worlds in urban megacities such as Rio De Janiero, Brazil (shown here), cause many problems such as crime, homelessness, and hunger. According to experts, by 2000, more than 50 percent of the world's population will live in cities of greater than 1 million people.

World Hunger. Hunger is also a problem in developing countries. Despite advances in agricultural technology and years of international aid programs, there are more starving and malnourished people in the world today than ever before. Experts estimate that approximately 40,000 children die each day from sickness and malnutrition and that as many as a billion people suffer from lack of proper nutrition. In the 1950s, one of every fifteen people in the world was malnourished; today more than one in four do not get enough to eat, in large part because of the growth of world population. Suggested ways to combat hunger include family planning programs, more efficient farming methods, and larger international assistance programs. So far, many governments have been unable or unwilling to provide anything more than stopgap measures. Nowhere are such problems more evident than in sub-Saharan Africa—the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) expects twenty nations in that region to face food emergencies in coming years.

Years of civil war and drought led to widespread disease and starvation in Somalia in 1992. International relief efforts were largely ineffective because battling Somali warlords and clans often stole food shipments. In an unprecedented international use of the U.S. military, President George Bush sent American troops to Somalia to ensure delivery of relief supplies. In March 1994, the United States withdrew from the region and handed control of the operation over to the United Nations, which remained in Somalia until March 1995.

Helping Developing Nations. The need to help less developed countries was a major underlying theme at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit) in Rio de Janiero, Brazil. Though officials called the conference out of concern for the environment, it soon became apparent that any plan to save the rain forests, preserve biodiver-

National Archives

Some aid programs provide food to hungry people in times of emergency who live in less developed nations. These programs send corn, wheat, and other food products to starving people around the world.

sity (variety of plant and animal species), and reduce air pollution must include plans to help developing countries modernize their economies. In their efforts to industrialize, produce more goods, and house and feed more people, LDCs often overfarm their land, cut down and burn their forests, and pollute their streams.

Most leaders at the Earth Summit agreed that industrialized nations must provide funds and technology so that developing countries can achieve sustainable development—building their economies and preserving the environment at the same time. The 178 nations at the Earth Summit signed several agreements, including the Rio Declaration, which acknowledged a link between poverty and environmental decay, and pledged to help impoverished countries achieve sustainable development.

American Foreign Aid. U.S. officials have often acted on the belief that helping other nations in need is not only a good humanitarian effort—it often also helps the United States. For instance, after World War II, the United States mounted one of the largest relief efforts ever to help devastated European nations recover from the war. This program, called the Marshall Plan, helped restart the world's economy and boost the health of potential U.S. allies, which proved beneficial to the American economy and national security.

The United States currently commits less than 1 percent of its annual federal budget to foreign aid each year—which amounted to about $13 billion. However, many members of Congress want to slash foreign aid because they believe it is wasteful.

U.S. aid is mostly bilateral—it goes directly from the United States to another country. U.S. aid helps raise the standard of living and enables developing countries to buy more American products. Most U.S. aid funds are spent on American goods and services. For the least developed countries, U.S. aid provides basic humanitarian support—feeding the hungry and treating the sick. Bilateral aid is also used for security purposes.

Development and Humanitarian Assistance. The U.S. government gives development and humanitarian assistance to help developing countries build roads, power plants, schools, and hospitals. For people in many of these countries, U.S. aid may make a difference between life and death by providing food and medical care. The funds are channeled through the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), which oversees a variety of programs. For instance, AID sponsors agriculture, rural development, and nutrition programs, which help increase crop production in other countries.

Security Assistance. The United States also provides foreign aid in the form of security assistance. Security assistance is designed to strengthen the armed forces and economies of friendly governments, enabling them to buy American-made weapons, airplanes, and military vehicles and to train soldiers for their national defense. One component of security assistance is the Economic Support Fund (ESF),

Foreign Aid Decreasing

Twenty-one U.S. foreign aid missions will close by 1996 in an effort to focus aid on about fifty countries. This reduction, the first cut in the number of countries receiving U.S. aid since Truman's Marshall Plan after World War II, will save the United States almost $26 million annually.

which grants money to friendly governments to use in their general budgets and to finance development projects. American officials believe that the ESF is vital to ensuring that governments of U.S. allies remain stable.

Multilateral Aid. The United States also gives money to international aid organizations. These organizations then distribute these funds to needy countries to help them combat specific problems. This type of aid is called multilateral because many nations contribute funds that are then given to many nations. The two largest multilateral aid sources are the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program. Both organizations grant aid based on need rather than politics. These organizations requested almost $2 billion in aid from the United States in 1994.

Peace Corps

In 1961, President John Kennedy established the Peace Corps to assist people in the developing world. Since then, more than 140,000 Peace Corps volunteers have worked in 100 countries, offering help in education, forestry, health, and agriculture. Many policymakers believe Peace Corps volunteers promote goodwill toward the United States.

Current Issues

U.S. Foreign Aid. Foreign aid is a powerful tool in promoting American interests overseas. The biggest share of the U.S. foreign aid budget has been going to the Middle East—Israel and Egypt in particular—to help maintain peace there. Other, often needier, countries currently receive less money because they are not considered as important to American security. Critics have said that this strategy is shortsighted. They argue that granting the bulk of foreign aid funds to Middle Eastern nations creates resentment against the United States and endangers poorly developed democracies.

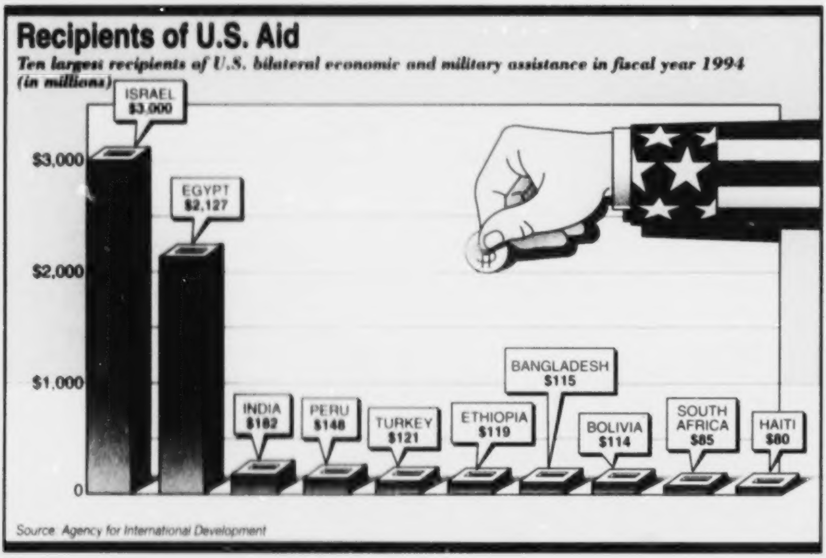
Some experts believe that the interests of developing nations are better served by open trade and increased private investment than by "handouts" from the industrialized world. They argue that U.S. aid programs should be used to promote self-reliance and to encourage developing countries to transfer government services—such as providing housing, energy, and transportation—to private owners.

Critics of open trade and increased private investment say that such policies are not easing poverty in poor regions and are actually hindering development. They argue that more private investment may increase the power of U.S.-based multinational corporations to dominate the economies of developing nations. Many leaders of LDCs also reject the belief that free-market investment will improve their countries' plight. They say that their private sectors are not yet sophisticated enough to provide goods and services for an entire nation.

Need or Politics? To whom should the United States give foreign aid? Some authorities say it should go directly to people and countries most in need. Others want aid to go only to the most important political and military allies of the United States. Still others advocate aiding the former communist states of eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that are now trying to establish democracies and market economies.

Traditionally, the United States has provided the most aid to its allies. Years ago, the U.S. government concentrated on helping poor countries whose political support it most wanted. For example, in the early 1960s, under the Alliance for Progress program, the United States used foreign aid to prevent communism from spreading in Latin America. In the 1970s and 1980s, American officials sent large amounts of military and economic aid to the Philippines.

That same philosophy underlies many U.S. foreign aid programs today. The United States gives economic and military assistance to governments facing internal threats from armed insurgents as well as to those countries in important strategic locations. Many members of



Recipients of U.S. Aid

Ten largest recipients of U.S. bilateral economic and military assistance in fiscal year 1994 (in millions)

Source: Agency for International Development

Congress believe that a combination of economic and military aid decreases the likelihood that friendly governments will fall to rebel movements.

Americans often criticize U.S. foreign aid programs, but for differing reasons. Some believe that their government spends too much on foreign aid. They point to the huge federal budget deficit, saying that the United States should meet its own domestic needs before sending money overseas. However, supporters say that foreign aid is not a big part of the budget, so this should not be an issue. Others criticize the emphasis of the government's foreign aid policy on U.S. security interests, maintaining that human need, not politics, should be the key factor when allotting aid.

The United States government has decreased its foreign aid budget during the past few years. U.S. economic and military aid to other nations fell from $13.6 billion in 1993 to $12.1 billion in 1994.

The Population Explosion. Many experts see the world's growing population as a key factor in poverty and in environmental and social decay in developing countries. They say that the more than 9.5 billion people who will live in the world in 2050 will place added strain on the soil, water, and other resources that are key to human survival. In addition, poverty and population growth are linked; more than 90 percent of world population growth over the next fifty years will take place in developing countries.

Many environmentalists and economists say that the need to stabilize population growth has tremendous implications for the economical, political, and environmental welfare of the world. Environmental decay has caused food shortages in some of the world's most impoverished countries. For example, the African country of Rwanda has the greatest population density in the world. Political, social, and tribal turmoil, spurred by poor economic conditions and scarcity of food, triggered a devastating civil war in that country.

At the September 1994 United Nations International Conference on Population and Development, world leaders met in Cairo, Egypt, to discuss the need to reduce the world's rate of population growth. The plan that emerged from the conference recommended giving women from developing countries more choices in birth control and better opportunities to change their status in society through education and employment. Many leaders at the Cairo conference argued that when these women from developing countries have a choice in family planning matters, they will choose to have fewer children, thus improving their likelihood for a more economically sound future.

Some U.S. policymakers think that giving funds to global organizations that might recommend abortion to control population is morally wrong. Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush suspended U.S. support of International Planned Parenthood and the United Nations Population Fund because these groups discussed abortion as an option in family planning. Supporters of the Reagan and Bush policies oppose using foreign aid to encourage abortions, and point to the two-child-per-couple limit in China that often leads many women there to have abortions. They argue that economic aid will help the LDCs become more advanced—which will naturally encourage couples to have smaller families, a relationship that has already proven true in the industrialized world.

In 1993, President Bill Clinton lifted the ban on funding international and domestic family planning organizations based on whether they counsel women about the option of abortion. His action was applauded by people who argue that even more funding for family planning is needed to halt the population explosion.

Outlook

Over the years, U.S. foreign aid has served many purposes. It has been used to decrease poverty, promote political stability and democracy, and keep allies strong. Recognizing that the more than 1 billion people living in poverty and environmental decay present a serious problem, the nations of the world are reevaluating their efforts to relieve the struggle of developing countries. The population explosion is straining the earth's food supplies, forests, and oceans. More than one-fifth of the world's men, women, and children still do not have enough food, adequate shelter, and sufficient sanitation. Global leaders are now considering ways to improve the lives of the world's people in need and the very health of the earth itself. At a time in the United States when no federal programs are safe from budget cuts, U.S. leaders must decide what kind of foreign aid commitment their country should—and can—make.

Helping You, Helping Me

Aiding nations often leads to increased trade with the recipient countries, and increased trade helps the United States. Every additional $1 billion in new U.S. exports means 20,000 new jobs for Americans, according to the Agency for International Development (AID). AID, which sponsors assistance programs in eighty countries, points out the following:

- **In 1992, developing countries bought $167 billion worth of U.S. products.**
- **The U.S. trade deficit with the nonindustrial world—which includes Latin America and all but the richest nations in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East—dropped to $24.8 billion in 1992, down from $53.1 billion in 1990.**
- **By 2000, four out of five consumers will live in the developing world.**
- **In 1993, exports to developing countries jumped to more than 37 percent of all U.S. exports.**

The Debate

World Poverty

The United States Should Reduce Foreign Aid.

PRO	CON
The United States cannot afford the foreign aid it now gives. The first priority of the federal government must be to reduce the budget deficit and to support domestic programs in such areas as education, health, and employment. Although the U.S. government has pumped millions of dollars into the developing world, poverty and hunger still prevail, and many recipient countries do not act in the best interests of the United States.	Foreign aid is an inexpensive way of promoting U.S. interests. Aid programs create long-term friendships throughout the world. In return, many countries allow the United States to keep military bases on their soil. Further, many aid programs are tied to long-term contracts for American business and agriculture—contracts that benefit the U.S. economy. Finally, foreign aid saves lives. Americans have a moral responsibility to help people in need.

Politics Should Determine Which Countries Receive U.S. Aid.

PRO	CON
Foreign aid is a legitimate tool of foreign policy. The United States should not give aid to unfriendly governments. In particular, the U.S. government should stop supporting multilateral institutions that spend taxpayer dollars on projects in countries that are hostile to the United States. Although the United States should help people in need around the world, its funds are limited and should go to nations that are both needy and friendly.	Human need, not politics, should be the basis for giving aid. People's lives are at stake. The needy citizens of developing countries should not be left starving because of political beliefs. To the extent that political criteria are used, the United States should favor democratic governments that respect the human rights of their citizens. Too much aid goes to "friendly" dictators who never use it for the people or who violate their citizens' rights.

The United States Should Promote Family Planning to Stop Population Growth.

PRO	CON
The United States must act to stop the cycle of poverty. Poverty can only be reduced if the number of people and demands on the earth's limited resources are also reduced. Millions of couples want information about birth control but cannot get it. Providing family planning information, including information about abortion, will enable people in developing countries to take control of their lives.	The United States should not provide any aid that might be used to support abortion. Instead, the United States should provide the economic support that will help developing countries modernize, which will encourage their people to have smaller families. Increasing food production technology and educating countries about protecting the environment will effectively combat poverty and environmental decay.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa has been called "the Third World of the Third World." Economic decline, famine, civil war, AIDS, and overpopulation have devastated the African continent. The forty-seven nations south of the Sahara desert that make up sub-Saharan Africa have not held much geopolitical importance for major world powers. With the exception of apartheid in South Africa and the humanitarian crises in Somalia and Rwanda, the problems of Africa have seldom been the center of international attention. Many experts contend that this neglect has helped push the continent to the brink of disaster.

The roots of sub-Saharan Africa's problems date back hundreds of years to the beginning of the European colonization that lasted until the late 1950s. Since gaining independence almost forty years ago, few African countries have become prosperous and politically stable. In 1994, Africa's economy grew at an average of 2.8 percent, the highest increase in five years. Nevertheless, the quality of life for most African people continues to deteriorate. Overpopulation is one factor; families in sub-Saharan Africa have an average of 6.4 children, compared with 1.6 in Europe, 2.1 in the United States, and 3.1 in Asia.

Although it has contributed economic and humanitarian assistance, the United States has played a small role in the affairs of sub-Saharan Africa. The region took a backseat during the Cold War, and some observers believe it is being left out once again in the 1990s. Others hope that the Clinton administration will actively seek solutions to Africa's political and economic problems.

Key Questions

- Should the United States send large-scale economic aid to Sub-Saharan Africa?
- Should the United States lead nation-building efforts in Africa?
- Should U.S. businesses reinvest in South Africa?

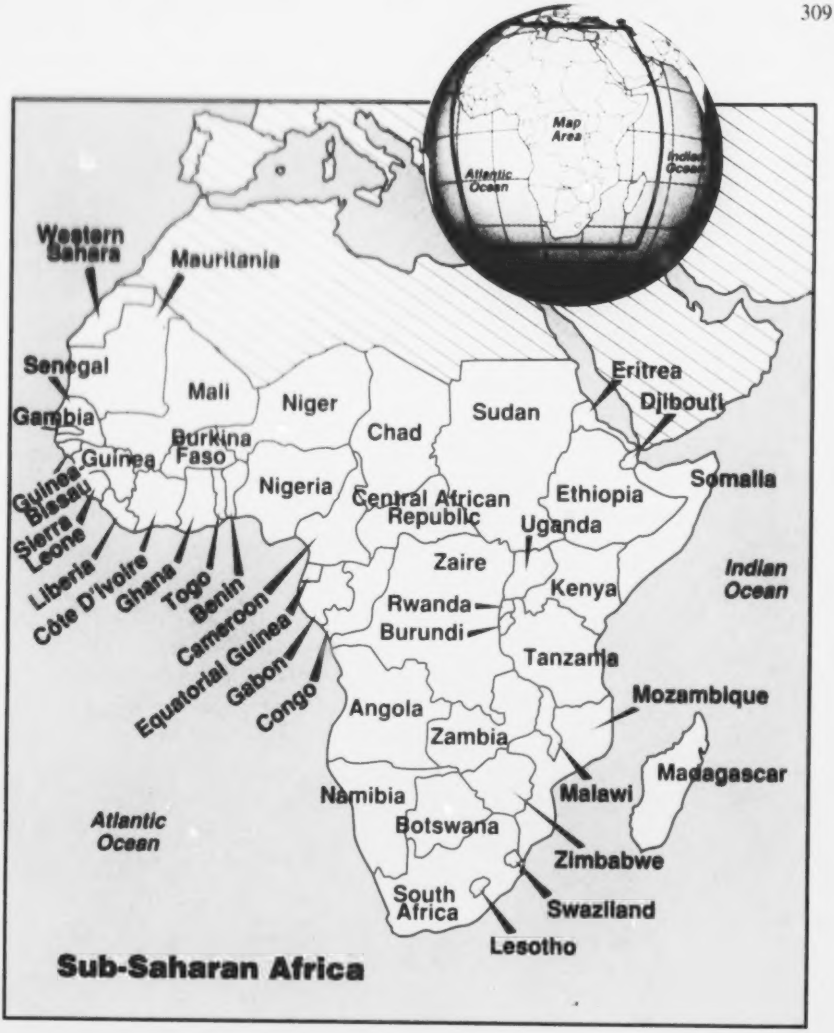
Background

Sub-Saharan Africa in Crisis

The Legacy of Colonialism. Until the late 1950s, most African nations were controlled or protected by European countries. In the nineteenth century, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Portugal went to Africa in search of profit and land. These countries drew the boundaries of the new nations of Africa and created governing administrations. By 1920, much of the continent was under colonial rule. Only three sub-Saharan nations were independent—Liberia, Ethiopia, and South Africa (which was created by a white minority).

In the late 1950s, however, nationalism and independence movements spread across Africa. European colonial powers were no longer economically capable of sustaining their African colonies, and international opinion favored self-determination. The decolonization of Africa happened quickly. In 1960 alone, seventeen new nations were founded. Two years later, twenty-five nations were independent—encompassing three-fourths of all African people. By 1980, fifty-one African states had acquired sovereignty; all were members of the United Nations.

One African leader called the first years of independence in the 1960s Africa's "age of glamour." Free of colonial rule, the African people had high hopes as they set out to build new governments and new societies. However, the long legacy of colonialism proved to be a heavy burden. The European colonists, while introducing Western-style ideas of government and law, had not educated the vast majority of the African population. In addition, the colonial boundaries had not been designed along tribal or ethnic divisions. Rival populations found themselves living under the same government, magnifying tensions throughout the continent.


Map Area
Atlantic Ocean
Indian Ocean
Western Sahara
Mauritania
Senegal
Gambia
Mali
Niger
Chad
Sudan
Eritrea
Djibouti
Somalia
Burkina Faso
Guinea
Guinea Bissau
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Côte D'Ivoire
Ghana
Togo
Benin
Nigeria
Cameroon
Equatorial Guinea
Gabon
Congo
Central African Republic
Ethiopia
Uganda
Zaire
Kenya
Rwanda
Burundi
Tanzania
Indian Ocean
Angola
Zambia
Mozambique
Malawi
Madagascar
Namibia
Botswana
Zimbabwe
Atlantic Ocean
South Africa
Swaziland
Lesotho
Sub-Saharan Africa

Civil War. Since the early 1970s, disunity among the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa has escalated into a number of civil wars. In 1991 and 1992, Africa was ravaged by fifteen wars that had been provoked by tribal conflicts, invasions, and nationalist campaigns. These wars killed more than 50,000 people, generated an enormous number of refugees, and produced widespread hunger and disease.

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Angola. Since obtaining independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola has been torn apart by a twenty-year civil war between the Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). By early 1995, about 1 million people had died—10 percent of the population.

The Marxist-influenced MPLA has governed Angola since 1975, but UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, controls some of the country's territory. In 1985, U.S. policymakers extended foreign aid to UNITA, believing that Savimbi's group was more committed to capitalism and democracy than was the MPLA.

The MPLA and UNITA signed a peace accord in 1991, but that and several later UN-sponsored truces collapsed. In 1993, the United States broke off its support for Savimbi and recognized the MPLA government. In November 1994, UNITA and the government again signed a peace accord.

Following the end of Rwanda's civil war in July 1994, about 2 million Rwandans fled to Zaire and other neighboring countries. This mass migration of people created a humanitarian disaster as hunger, thirst, and disease overwhelmed refugee camps. To help alleviate the crisis, the United States and other UN members sent military forces to help deliver aid to central Africa in late July.

Reuters/Bettmann

Rwanda. Belgium and Germany colonized Rwanda, a small central African nation, and its neighbor Burundi in the late 1800s. Prior to colonization, Rwanda and Burundi were inhabited by two tribes, the Hutus and Tutsis. However, during colonization the two tribes mixed, and Tutsis became the minority in both countries. Between 1950 and 1962, when Belgium's control of Rwanda was waning, colonial leaders tried to maintain control over the country by pitting Hutus and Tutsis against one another. After Rwanda gained independence in 1962, tensions between the two tribes mounted.

In 1990, civil war erupted. Fighting temporarily ceased when Rwanda's Hutu-led government signed a peace agreement with Tutsi rebels. In April 1994, a Hutu faction shot down an airplane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. This event sparked three months of extreme violence in Rwanda between the two tribes. By July 1994, when the rebel Tutsis claimed victory, about 500,000 people had been massacred.

Somalia. Located on the eastern Horn of Africa, Somalia was governed by Great Britain in the north and Italy in the south until it gained independence in 1960. In 1969, a military coup brought dictator Siad Barre to power. A socialist, Barre established close ties with the Soviet Union until the Kremlin switched allegiance to Ethiopia, Somalia's rival to the west. Somalia then looked to the United States for economic aid.

As the economy grew worse in Somalia, rival tribal groups asserted their opposition to the Barre regime. Violence resulted, and Barre was forced to flee to escape assassination. However, no tribal group was able to consolidate enough power to form a new government. In late 1991, full-scale civil war broke out between rival clans.

The war produced widespread famine that threatened the lives of more than a million Somalis. In 1992, gangs hijacked and stockpiled relief food and medicine as it arrived on Somali shores. In a humanitarian mission named Operation Restore Hope, the United States and the United Nations intervened, temporarily taking over control of the country in early 1993 to ensure that deliveries were made to the starving Somalis. In March 1994, the United States withdrew its forces from Somalia, and a year later, the last UN peacekeepers left. Experts say that fighting within and between clans is likely to continue as Somalis struggle to create their own political system.

Civil War in Sudan

Since May 1983, civil war has raged in Sudan between the Arab Islamic fundamentalists of the north and Christian and animist black Africans in the south. The Arab-led Muslim government in the capital of Khartoum describes the conflict as a "holy war," and the rebels in the south refuse to live according to Muslim law. Outside funding has helped continue the war. The government reportedly receives money from Iran and Saudi Arabia, and the rebels receive money from neighboring countries like Uganda that do not want Islamic fundamentalist neighbors. Rebels in the south lost territory in late 1994 as government troops neared Sudan's southern border with Uganda. However, rebels continued their demands for a separate non-Muslim nation. As of late 1994, about 1 million Sudanese had died in the conflict, and about 3 million people had left their homes.

Moves Toward Democratization. Sub-Saharan African nations have a long tradition of one-party political systems. Attempts at democratic reform in some of Africa's authoritarian governments such as those in Cameroon, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, and Togo have met with mixed success. However, many observers believe that the future of democracy in the region depends greatly on the success of the newly democratic South Africa.

South Africa. In 1994, apartheid—the white minority government's strict racial segregation policy—came to an end. In April 1994, South Africa held its first fully democratic elections, allowing that country's black majority to vote for the first time.

South Africa's democratic elections were the culmination of the comprehensive political and social restructuring the country has undertaken since 1989. Mounting international pressure, economic sanctions, and the threat of civil war prompted changes in South Africa. In 1989 and 1990, President F.W. de Klerk introduced democratic reforms eliminating most of the legal foundations of apartheid and released African National Congress (ANC) leader and antiapartheid activist Nelson Mandela from prison.

Following Mandela's release, de Klerk's government began negotiating with the ANC and Mandela—widely considered to be the main spokesperson for black South Africans—over how

AP/Wide World Photos

In April 1994, South Africa held the first multiracial national election in its 342-year history. Citizens elected ANC leader Nelson Mandela the first black president of South Africa.

to bring the black majority into the political process without isolating the white minority. In November 1993, de Klerk and Mandela endorsed a new constitution that extended voting rights to the black majority. In April 1994, national elections were held. As expected, Mandela's ANC easily defeated de Klerk's National Party.

However, during its first year in office, South Africa's black majority government faced enormous challenges including high unemployment, inadequate housing, and poor educational resources. In October 1995, South Africa will hold its first multiracial local elections. Experts hope that political reform at the local level will begin to alleviate problems for many South Africans.

U.S. Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa

Cold War Disengagement. The United States has never taken a leadership role in Africa the way it has in Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. When the Cold War was at its height, most U.S. policymakers believed that Africa was, compared to other continents, economically and strategically unimportant. Consequently, from 1960 to 1992, the United States concentrated little of its financial, military, or political resources in sub-Saharan Africa.

The Soviet Union, the largest arms supplier to the continent, devoted more military and economic assistance to Africa than did the United States. Although Soviet influence extended throughout much of the continent, including Angola in 1975 and Ethiopia in 1977, the U.S. government and its armed forces did little to fight the Cold War on African territory.

U.S. Foreign Aid. When African nations won their independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, President John Kennedy praised these countries as symbols of the battle for freedom around the world. In 1961, the United States awarded a $222 million independence gift to Nigeria. Kennedy also sent aid to the Congo (now Zaire) to help that country fight communism. Soon after, U.S. foreign policy was consumed by the war in Vietnam; sub-Saharan Africa was all but forgotten.

Kennedy's actions paved the way for the United States' foreign aid program to Africa. The thrust of this program has been to help stabilize Africa's economies. Again, compared with U.S. assistance given to other nations, aid to sub-Saharan African countries has been a low priority. In 1995, the U.S. government budgeted $6.5 billion in economic, humanitarian, and development assistance worldwide. Of that amount, only $800 million was allotted for Africa. While foreign aid spending comprises less than 1 percent of the federal budget, the budget deficit and questions over the effectiveness of foreign assistance programs have prompted lawmakers to target foreign aid for deep cuts in funding.

Current Issues

Is the United States Neglecting Africa? The United States' post-Cold War foreign policy so far has focused mainly on the Middle East, Russia, and East Asia. These regions represent important economic and strategic interests for the United States. Most experts believe that, with the exception of emergency humanitarian missions, the sub-Saharan region does not fit in U.S. foreign policy priorities of the 1990s. Although the Clinton administration has said it will encourage democracy and economic renewal in sub-Saharan Africa, critics doubt that the United States is prepared to invest money and diplomatic resources to help accomplish this goal.

Many foreign policy experts believe the United States is neglecting sub-Saharan Africa, thereby allowing the despair that is engulfing the region to spread. They propose that the United States make sub-Saharan Africa one of its foreign aid priorities. If the United States stands by and, as one observer said, "watches Africa fall off the map," then political oppression and economic despair will escalate, forcing the United States to intervene in more crises like that in Rwanda. Supporters of large-scale aid to Africa note that the U.S. government allocated about $2 billion on assistance to Rwanda, much more than it would have spent on preventive policies such as development projects. They claim that spending money on emergency humanitarian aid is a short-term solution that does nothing to address the roots of conflict—tribal tensions and poverty.

Opponents of large-scale economic aid to sub-Saharan African countries argue that these countries have yet to show that they are committed to

UN Photo 159341/E. Debebe

According to the United Nations, more than 250 million Africans—more than half of Africa's inhabitants—live in poverty. Although many factors contribute to poverty in the region, experts say that population growth remains one of the biggest burdens.

democracy and economic reform. Critics contend that before the United States pours millions more dollars into the region, African governments must first demonstrate that the aid will not be wasted or misused. Other policymakers contend that sending large-scale foreign aid to sub-Saharan Africa is simply not in the U.S. national interest. They say those nations are not crucial to national security or U.S. economic interests and therefore do not warrant increased foreign aid, particularly when the U.S. government is constrained by an enormous budget deficit.

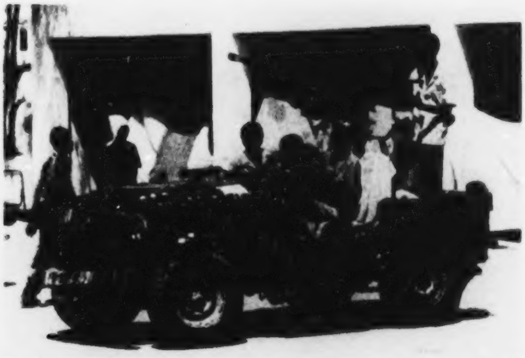
U.S. Military Involvement and Nation Building. In 1992, the United States sent troops to war-torn Somalia to secure the delivery of food aid to almost a million starving Somalis. At first, the mission looked like an unqualified success, as food was successfully transported to famine areas and U.S. troops had few run-ins with local Somali gangs.

However, between June and October 1993, the mission of U.S. troops, then under UN command, changed to include capturing Somali warlord General Mohamed Aidid, the person many blamed for much of the famine in Somalia. In October 1993, a group of American and UN soldiers were killed in a battle with a Somali gang loyal to Aidid. The American public was outraged, and President Clinton announced that he was pulling U.S. troops out of Somalia. Many members of Congress said the United States should never again involve its military in a foreign country's civil war.

Supporters of U.S. military intervention contend that the few lives lost in the Somalia mission should not deter the international community from its duty to alleviate mass starvation and other suffering where and when necessary. Otherwise, they say, those situations only become worse, often spreading into neighboring countries. In addition, many supporters of intervention say that to prevent similar catastrophes in the future, relief efforts should include helping to make peace in the warring nation, the first step toward nation building. Nation building is the process of establishing a new system of government and new institutions.

Others counter that involving the U.S. military in nation building in sub-Saharan Africa would be a mistake—just as it was a mistake to try to force peace on Somalia. They say that armed intervention in regional African conflicts cannot solve the internal problems in those nations. Sometimes, as in the Somalia operation, those efforts actually compound the nation's problems because outsiders do not have enough knowledge about the history and customs of the people. Moreover, foreign money spent in corrupt African systems can support warring factions. For example, the UN effort, based in Aidid's stronghold of Mogadishu, indirectly supported Aidid's clan. Critics of U.S.-led nation building argue that political solutions in sub-Saharan Africa must come from native peoples if they are to have long-lasting effects.

U.S. Investment in South Africa. For decades, the United States and South Africa had a profitable economic relationship. Communism was a longstanding threat in parts of southern Africa, and U.S. lawmakers looked to South Africa as a



This photo shows gang members in the Somalian capital of Mogadishu aboard a vehicle fit with heavy machine guns in 1992. As UN forces left Somalia in March 1995, experts feared that the civil war there might once again intensify.

AP/Wide World Photos

pillar of capitalism and a place of opportunity for American companies. South Africa's economy benefited greatly from U.S. aid and business, and it became the first industrialized nation in sub-Saharan Africa.

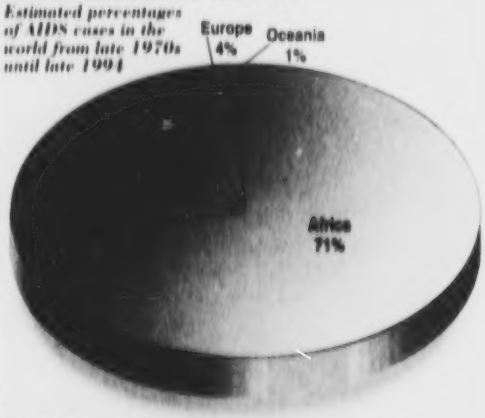
However, during the 1980s, protests against U.S. policy toward South Africa grew. Many Americans believed that Congress and American companies should not help prop up a racist regime, even if it was opposed to communism. Under public pressure, Congress imposed economic sanctions on South Africa in 1986, and American businesses began to pull out.

With apartheid dismantled and democracy now in place in South Africa, sanctions have been lifted, and many U.S. lawmakers are encouraging U.S. businesses to invest once again in South Africa. South Africa's economy is struggling and needs outside investment to recover. However, many businesses are concerned about what economic direction the country will take under the leadership of Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress. Some believe that the Mandela government may yet implement a sweeping redistribution of wealth program to compensate black South Africans for years of oppression and economic disadvantage. Critics say that such action would amount to socialism, making South Africa a risky place for American investment. Many business leaders prefer to take a wait-and-see attitude and judge Mandela's commitment to a free-market economy.

The Clinton administration believes that fears of a socialist South Africa are unwarranted. Many companies agree with the president and argue that the new black-majority government realizes that international investment is crucial to South Africa's economic and democratic survival. Therefore, Mandela will not turn to socialism, knowing that it would deter foreign investors.

AIDS Cases Worldwide

Estimated percentages of AIDS cases in the world from late 1970s until late 1994



*Not including the United States

Source: World Health Organization Global Programme on AIDS

No other continent has been harder hit by AIDS than Africa. Experts predict that by 2000, approximately 25 million Africans could be infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. In 1995, the World Health Organization estimated that more than 70 percent of the total number of AIDS cases worldwide were in Africa.

Outlook

The despair that engulfs Africa south of the Sahara confounds the global community's efforts to remedy it. While United Nations relief efforts and missions like those in Somalia and Rwanda can bring short-term relief, many experts and U.S. policymakers believe that long-term solutions to Africa's problems have to come from within African society itself. There is reason for optimism as some nations have made substantial progress toward democratic reform. Many observers believe that if democracy can take hold, then economic reform will follow. Until then, the United States and other Western nations are divided on how best to help sub-Saharan Africa. As regions like the Middle East and East Asia capture the attention of U.S. leaders, African leaders face an uphill struggle not only in reforming their systems, but also in gaining U.S. aid dollars to foster their efforts.

The Debate

Sub-Saharan Africa

The United States Should Send Large-Scale Economic Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa.

PRO

Widespread poverty and famine are undermining many African nations' attempts to democratize their political systems. Brutal wars also contribute to the suffering. The United States must make Sub-Saharan Africa a top foreign aid priority. No other region in the world needs economic aid more. To continue to ignore this fact is to stand by and watch millions of people die from starvation and war.

CON

The United States should not increase foreign aid to the region because African governments have done very little to promote free elections and capitalist economic systems. Furthermore, the United States has no national interest in sub-Saharan Africa. Valuable U.S. foreign aid dollars should be reserved primarily for those nations that are strategically and economically important to the United States.

The United States Should Lead Nation-Building Efforts in Africa.

PRO

The U.S. armed forces should be used to help alleviate humanitarian crises wherever and whenever they occur. Moreover, when such crises take place in nations suffering civil war, the United States should lead efforts to bring peace to the warring nation to prevent future crises. Through nation-building efforts, the United States can help bring prosperity to a continent that has been deprived for too long.

CON

The U.S. military should act only when there is a clear U.S. interest at stake. In African civil wars, there is no such interest. Moreover, the debacle in Somalia has proven that outsiders are usually unsuccessful at solving the political problems of a nation. The people of sub-Saharan Africa—not foreign military powers—are best equipped to find long-term solutions to their own problems.

U.S. Businesses Should Reinvest in South Africa.

PRO

South Africa has turned itself into a truly democratic state. Apartheid has been eliminated and the government now represents all South Africans. President Mandela says international investment in South Africa will be good not only for outside businesses, but also for the country's economy. In the past, South Africa was a profitable market for American companies and will be again if the South African economy revives. This will occur only if U.S. businesses return.

CON

In the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa was a prosperous capitalist country with a rich market for U.S. business. The ANC leadership is no friend of capitalism. Its more radical members want to turn South Africa into a socialist country to give something back to black South Africans, who suffered under apartheid for so long. American companies should wait before returning to South Africa to make sure that Mandela provides a healthy environment for investment.

East Asia

日本

East Asia is the fastest-growing economic region in the world. Japan is the leader in many high-tech industries and is the chief economic partner of the United States. Once-isolated China also is producing enormous economic growth rates and an unprecedented increase in the standard of living. Even smaller East Asian nations like South Korea, Singapore, and Indonesia are experiencing dramatic economic growth.

Because of East Asia's economic power, many experts believe that the region is replacing Europe as the primary focus of U.S. foreign policy. President Bill Clinton has often spoken of Asia's importance to the United States, particularly its potential as a huge market for American products. The United States has a beneficial economic relationship with Japan and is developing more economic ties with other Asian nations, including China.

However, U.S. relations with countries in East Asia are difficult on certain issues. For example, many U.S. lawmakers, believing China continues to abuse the rights of its people, have called into question policies that promote trade with that country. Moreover, North Korea's alleged nuclear weapons program created a tense standoff between the United States and North Korea. Although the crisis ended with the signing of an agreement in October 1994, the difficult job of implementing the agreement remains. As U.S. policymakers focus their foreign policy priorities on East Asia, they have found that the region presents new problems requiring new diplomatic and economic solutions.

Key Questions

- Should the United States withdraw its military forces from Japan?
- Should the United States promote trade with China?
- Should the United States normalize relations with North Korea?

Background

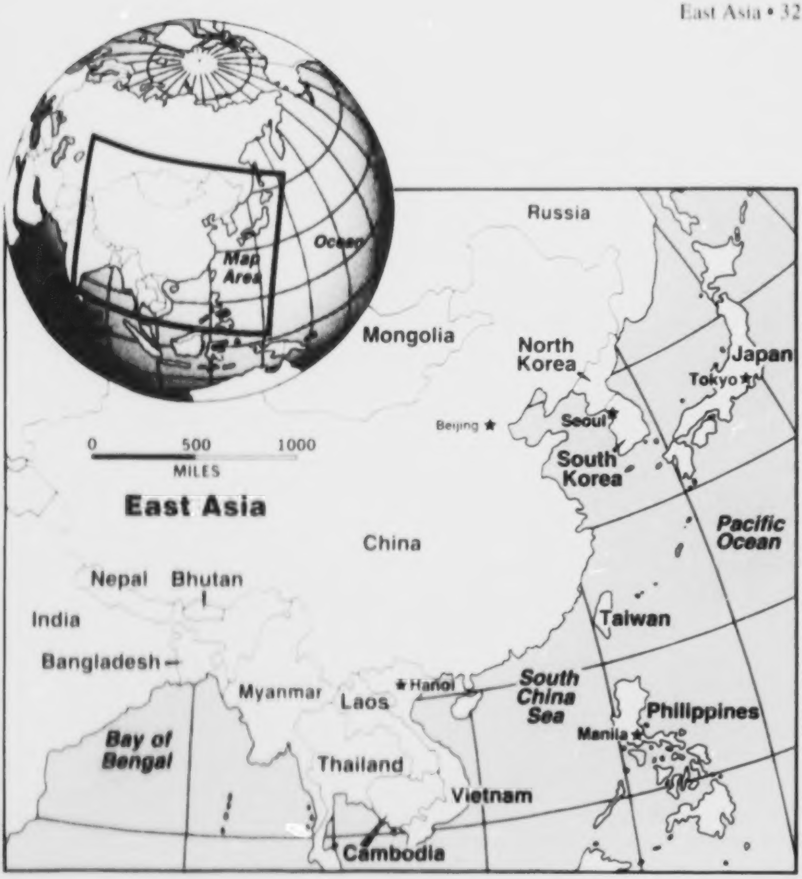
Japan

U.S.-Japan Relations, 1945-52. After U.S. atomic bombs destroyed two of its cities in 1945, Japan surrendered to the United States, bringing World War II to an end. Japan was then placed under the control of U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur. A new constitution created Japan's first democratic government with a parliament called the Diet, a prime minister, and a Supreme Court with the power to review laws. The constitution also demilitarized Japan, denying it the right to raise an army.

In 1952, Japan signed a peace treaty with the United States, ending seven years of U.S. military occupation. Japanese leaders also signed the Mutual Security Treaty, which said the United States would defend Japan in case of attack. In exchange, the United States could keep military bases on Japanese soil.

Japan's Economic Miracle. When World War II was over, Japanese industrialists found that, because of their wartime focus on military equipment, they were ten years behind the latest advances in technology and production. Japan built its postwar industries with the help of American aid, introduced new management techniques, and erected trade barriers to protect new industries.

Japan's government helped Japanese companies grow by supporting potentially prosperous industries with research and development grants and allowing competing companies to work together to develop new technologies and products. The government's efforts were matched by Japan's well-educated workers, who were able to adopt foreign technology and often improve it. As a result of government and industry efforts, Japan's productivity rate grew faster than the United States' productivity rate. By the 1960s,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Bhutan
India
Taiwan
Bangladesh
South China Sea
Hanoi
Myanmar
Laos
Philippines
Manila
Bay of Bengal
Thailand
Vietnam
Cambodia

Japanese industries were turning out high-quality consumer goods, such as clothing, radios, televisions, cameras, and automobiles, and exporting them to other nations.

U.S.-Japanese Trade. Trade is essential to Japan's economy. The island country has few natural resources and must import most of the raw materials it needs for manufacturing. To pay for these imports, Japan must sell finished goods to other nations. The United States became Japan's biggest customer, and by 1965 Japan was selling more products to the United States than it was buying from the United States, a trend that continues today.

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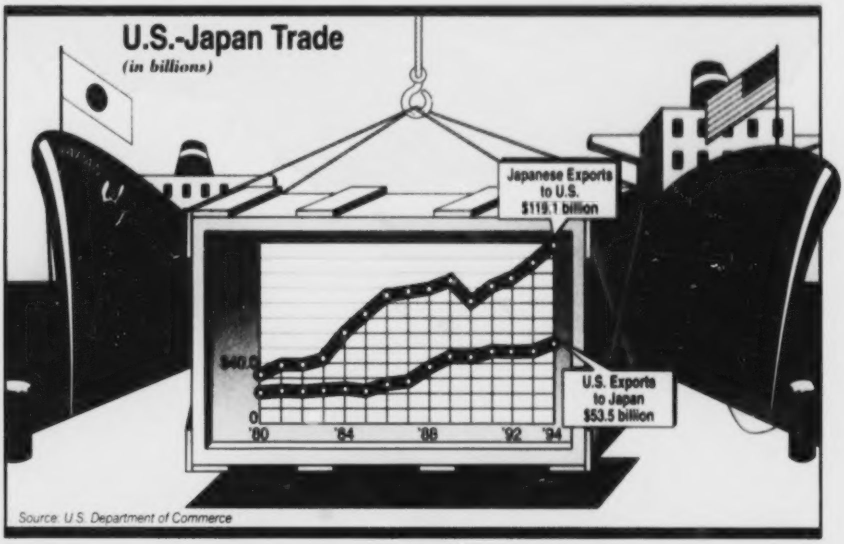
For more than twenty-five years, the trade deficit between the United States and Japan has caused conflicts between the two countries. Over that time, officials from both governments have negotiated several agreements to increase U.S. exports and reduce Japanese exports in an effort to reduce the gap. However, Japan's trade surplus with the United States jumped to $65 billion in 1994. Many American businesses and policymakers accuse Japan of protecting its domestic markets with trade barriers, such as tariffs and quotas, to keep American products out. They argue that the Japanese government has continually failed to live up to agreements with the United States to open its markets. In October 1994, after President Clinton repeatedly threatened to impose trade barriers against Japanese goods, Japan finally agreed to open its market to more American industries. But differences over other products remain, such as cars and car parts, which account for 60 percent of Japan's trade surplus with the United States.

Every year since 1965, Japan has exported more goods to the United States than the United States has exported to Japan. Japan exports manufactured goods such as cars, machines, and telecommunications equipment to the United States. Americans ship raw materials such as metal, coal, lumber, and food to Japan.



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

Many experts point out that negotiating with Japan has been difficult recently because Japan has had four different prime ministers since June 1993, and its economy is still recovering from a recession. Consequently, some experts believe that Japan has not had the political or economic stability to undertake major changes in its trade policy. Nevertheless, most economists think that U.S. policymakers must continue to pressure Japan into making trade concessions to reduce its trade surplus with the United States.

China

Communism and the Great Leap Forward. Following World War II, two political parties in China—the Nationalist Party, led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong—fought for control of the country. In 1949, the long struggle ended with a communist victory; Mao renamed the country the People's Republic of China. Meanwhile, Chiang took his Nationalist government to the island of Formosa, later renamed Taiwan.

Central to Mao's philosophy were goals to eliminate poverty and inequality among the masses by redistributing food, land, and other resources. The first ten years of communist rule produced some economic achievements but fell far short of meeting the needs of the Chinese people. In 1958, Mao announced a new economic program known as the Great Leap Forward, intended to modernize his country's agriculture and industry. The program was a disaster. It not only failed to reach its economic goals, but also led to unrest among the people, the imprisonment and execution of dissidents, and China's isolation from the rest of the world.

Changing Leaders and Economic Policy. When Mao died in 1976, Deng Xiaoping eventually

Lifting the Embargo on Vietnam

In January 1994, President Bill Clinton announced that he was lifting the U.S. trade embargo on Vietnam that had been in place for thirty years. Trade with North Vietnam was banned in 1964 as the Vietnam War escalated; the ban was extended to the entire country when South Vietnam fell to the communists in 1975. Some Vietnam War veterans organizations protested the lifting of the embargo because they believe Vietnam has not fully cooperated in the search for American prisoners of war (POWs) and those missing in action (MIAs). President Clinton argued that greater economic cooperation with Vietnam will encourage the "fullest possible accounting" of missing Americans.

emerged as China's leader after a long and bitter power struggle.

Although the overall structure and principles of communism remained intact, Deng and his supporters radically altered Chinese economic policy to make rapid economic gains. They initiated an "open door" policy with the West to increase trade and attract foreign investors to China. To modernize agriculture and industry, Deng experimented with capitalist concepts such as private property, free-market competition, and other material incentives.

China's move toward capitalism continues today. As a result of Deng's economic reforms, China's economy grew at an average rate of 8.6 percent a year from the early 1980s through 1992. In 1993 and 1994, it grew even more—by about 13 percent each year. Millions of people have been lifted out of poverty, and exports have risen by 13 percent every year since 1985. By 2000, China will become one of the top dozen exporters in the world. Although Japan remains the dominant economic force in East Asia for the time being, China has the fastest-growing economy in the region, if not the world.

China's New Generation of Leaders. In 1987, Deng Xiaoping announced he was retiring as leader of the Chinese Communist Party. But before his retirement, he persuaded or forced nearly all of the aging communist revolutionaries to step down as well. This massive "house cleaning" placed the country in the hands of a younger generation of leaders who are likely to continue China's economic development and reforms.

Although the 90-year-old Deng, who some think is in ill health, holds no official position, he remains the country's most powerful political figure. Experts are unsure who will emerge as China's new leader after Deng dies. But analysts say that, judging by China's hard-line stances on human rights and trade issues, conservatives may be gaining power.

U.S.-China Relations. Until the 1970s, the relationship between China and the United States was strained. The rise of the communists in 1947 was a great shock to U.S. leaders, whose foreign policy was dedicated to stopping the spread of communism. The United States refused to recognize the People's Republic of China, and Chinese leaders were outspokenly anti-American.

By the 1970s, China had become a world power, and its relations with the neighboring Soviet Union reached a warlike state. President Richard Nixon believed that the United States could take advantage of the conflict between the two communist powers. In 1972, Nixon stunned the world by going to China. His trip to China set the stage for Chinese-American relations for the next two decades.

During the 1980s, the United States and China continued their constructive but uneasy relationship. As Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms were pushing China toward capitalism, Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush

Nixon Project, National Archives

President Richard Nixon and Chinese leader Mao Zedong exchange greetings in 1972. President Nixon's historic trip to China was the first friendly official contact between the United States and the People's Republic of China in more than twenty years.

made more diplomatic overtures to encourage Deng to adopt political reforms as well.

In 1989, more than 100,000 Chinese students and workers staged large demonstrations in Beijing, the capital of China, demanding democratic reforms and the removal of Deng from power. The government imposed martial law, but the protesters ignored it. Deng then ordered tanks and armored vehicles to attack Tiananmen Square, where the main demonstrations were being held. Casualties were high, as 5,000 people were killed and 10,000 injured. Hundreds were arrested; some were later executed.

The global community condemned the crackdown, saying it was evidence that China, despite its economic progress, remained an oppressive authoritarian state. President Bush denounced the attack but still believed it was in the United States' best interest not to isolate China, but to continue to help it develop economically. Bush agreed with giving China most favored nation (MFN) trade status. MFN trade status encourages Chinese imports because it grants them reduced tariffs.

Human Rights and Trade. In 1993 and 1994, human rights groups accused China of continuing to imprison and mistreat political activists. As the date for renewing China's MFN status neared, the Clinton administration threatened to withdraw MFN status if China's human rights record did not improve. But China's leaders insisted that human rights were domestic matters that should not be linked with trade. In March 1994, Secretary of State Warren Christopher visited China to persuade its leaders to improve their human rights record—without success. Nevertheless, President Clinton extended China's MFN status in May 1994, choosing to pursue human rights concerns through separate negotiations.

East Asian Arms Race

Booming economies, the declining U.S. defense role in the region, and suspicion of oppressive states like China and North Korea have spurred many East Asian nations into buying billions of dollars worth of modern weaponry. Several of the region's smaller nations—Brunei, Indonesia, Singapore, and Taiwan—are purchasing the most weapons, although Japan and South Korea are not far behind. Some experts believe that China's acquisition of warplanes, tanks, and ships is evidence that it intends to fill the military power vacuum that currently exists in Asia. U.S. officials fear that the escalation of arms sales in a traditionally unstable part of the world could lead to full-scale regional or even worldwide war.

AP/Wide World Photos

A U.S.-made IBM laptop computer competes with Japanese-made laptops in an electronics store in Japan. U.S. officials continue trying to persuade Japanese leaders to open their markets to even more U.S. goods and services, particularly to U.S.-made cars and car parts.

However, U.S.-China relations continued to falter in late 1994 and early 1995 over another trade-related dispute—the piracy of U.S. computer software, compact discs, and movie videocassettes. American officials accused twenty-nine Chinese factories of illegally producing copies of U.S. products without paying royalties to U.S. companies or artists; they demanded that the Chinese government close the factories. Although both U.S. and Chinese leaders threatened to increase tariffs on each other's imports in early February 1995, the two sides reached an agreement before the tariffs took effect. China's leaders promised to crack down on piracy operations and to open more of its market to U.S. goods and to U.S.-Chinese joint ventures.

North and South Korea

The Division of Korea and the Korean War. Japan controlled Korea for fifty years beginning in 1894. After Japan's surrender to the United States ended World War II, Korea was partitioned into two sections: the North (allied with the Soviet Union) and the South (allied with the United States). In 1948, both superpowers withdrew their forces, but no agreement was reached on reunification.

In June 1950, North Korea, supported by the Soviet Union, invaded South Korea in an attempt to unify the two Koreas under communist rule. The United States deployed its armed forces as part of a United Nations "police action" to repel the invasion. After successfully pushing the communist forces back, the allies expanded their war aims by crossing the 38th parallel (the line that divides North and South Korea). This action brought China into the war on the side of North Korea. The two sides fought to a stalemate and, in July 1953, signed an armistice that established a demilitarized zone between the two Koreas. More than 50,000 U.S. soldiers died in Korea along with hundreds of thousands of Korean and Chinese troops and Korean civilians. Today, the United States keeps about 37,000 troops on the South Korean side of the demilitarized zone—its single largest military presence in a foreign nation.

After the war, North Korea continued under a communist regime; the South remained under a democratic government until a 1961 military coup established authoritarian rule that lasted until 1992. In December of that year, South Korea held its first fully democratic elections in more than thirty years. North Korea, a hard-line communist state, was ruled by Kim Il Sung from 1948 until his death in July 1994. Since then, his son Kim Jong Il has led the country, though experts do not think the younger Kim is as powerful as his father.

A New Korean Conflict. Forty years after the Korean War, fear and suspicion between North and South Korea remain. While South Korea has made significant economic and democratic progress, North Korea's economic and social conditions have worsened. In 1991, North Korea's ally, the Soviet Union, collapsed. The following year, China, another important ally, established diplomatic relations with South Korea, an act that North Korea's leaders viewed as a betrayal. This increased isolation and the nation's continued devotion to communism have contributed to the deterioration of North Korea's economy.

In the early 1990s, the international community believed that North Korea was building nuclear weapons—a violation of the UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty that North Korea signed in 1985. In addition, North Korean officials would not allow the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect sites that they suspected of producing nuclear weapons material—also a violation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Experts thought that North Korea may have been pursuing the bomb to get attention from foreign governments. Some suspected that North Korean leaders were reacting to their country's isolation from the international community and to severe economic problems.

Finally, in October 1994, North Korea agreed to allow inspections of its suspicious nuclear sites in exchange for U.S. funding for the building of two new nuclear power facilities to generate more electricity for North Korea. While many people have criticized the agreement for being too lenient on North Korean treaty violations, others believe the agreement may improve U.S.-North Korean relations.

Reuters/Bettmann

North Korea's "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung died in July 1994 after more than forty years leading the only remaining hard-line communist country in Asia. Kim Il Sung's son, Kim Jong Il (pictured above), became the "Dear Leader," but Western experts question the extent of his power and his ability to repair North Korea's shattered economy.

Current Issues

U.S. Military in Japan. Since U.S. and Japanese leaders signed the Mutual Security Treaty in 1952, the United States has protected Japan with a large military presence in the region. However, some policymakers believe these policies need to be changed. They point out that the Soviet Union has collapsed and that Japan's security is no longer threatened as it was during the Cold War. Many experts say that Japan has a strong enough economy and industry to support its own military, while the U.S. government can no longer afford to protect Japan. Moreover, Japan's current government is unlikely to pursue the imperialist aims of its past. Therefore, some Americans, and even many Japanese, believe that the United States should close its military bases in Japan.

However, other Americans believe that a U.S. military presence in Asia is important to regional security because it offsets major powers like China and Russia. Critics of changing Japan's defense structure argue that if Japan raised an army, then its neighbors might stockpile weapons to prevent possible Japanese aggression, escalating an Asian arms race that could lead to nuclear proliferation in the region. Therefore, most U.S. policymakers believe that the United States should retain its military presence in Japan to avoid these potential crises.

U.S.-China Trade. Perhaps most important of all of Deng Xiaoping's diplomatic overtures to the

World War II ended on September 2, 1945, when Japanese officials surrendered to the United States. The U.S. military would occupy Japan until 1952. The United States keeps military bases on Japanese soil today.

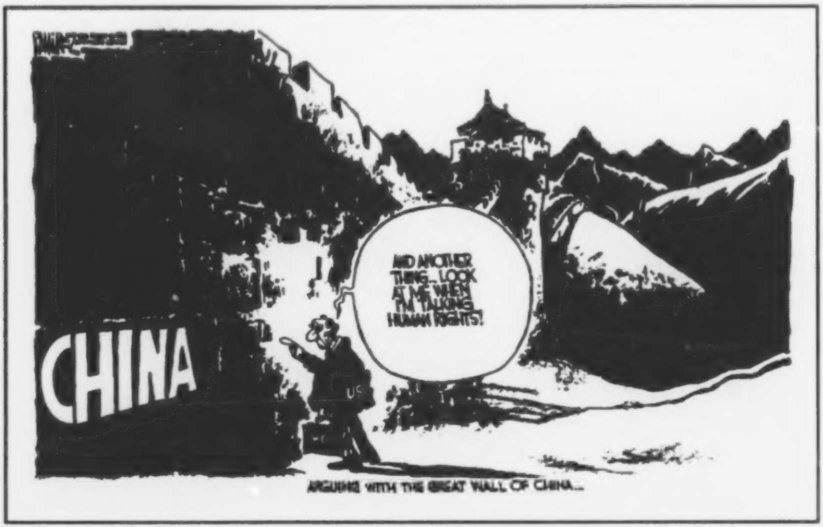
National Archives

West was his opening of China's markets to world trade. Deng recognized that an "open door" trade policy with the West was the only way to overcome China's poverty and isolation.

China's trade privileges with the United States were not a subject of debate until the June 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square. Appalled by China's blatant human rights abuses, many members of Congress called for withdrawal of China's most favored nation (MFN) trade status. Supporters of this action argue that the United States should not promote trade with any nation that oppresses its people. They believe that trade restrictions would force China to change its human rights policies.

Despite pressure from the Clinton administration in early 1994, China refused to meet U.S. demands for human rights improvement. In May 1994, President Clinton, amid strong criticism from human rights groups, renewed China's MFN status. Supporters of Clinton's action argue that the trade relationship with China should be maintained so that American businesses will have access to China's huge and rewarding market. These critics of trade restrictions contend that isolating China economically will undermine the progress that nation has made over the past ten years. The best way to bring about democracy in China, many experts argue, is to ensure that its free-market economy continues to grow. However, others contend that the liberty of people should come before trading interests and that the U.S. government should not support tyrannical governments that mistreat their people.

Relations with North Korea. U.S. relations with North Korea were very tense during the standoff over North Korea's nuclear program in 1993 and 1994. During this time, the United States and other nations, suspecting that North Korea had produced


CHINA
US
AND ANOTHER THING...LOOK AT ME WHEN I'M TALKING HUMAN RIGHTS!
ARGUING WITH THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA...

Mike Ramirez, Copley News Service

at least one nuclear bomb, threatened economic sanctions if North Korea did not open its nuclear sites to inspection.

Negotiations suffered a setback when North Korea's leader, Kim Il Sung, died in July 1994. His son, Kim Jong Il, became the new leader of North Korea. U.S. officials were able to negotiate a treaty with North Korean officials to end the escalating crisis in October 1994. Under the agreement, the United States, South Korea, and Japan will help fund the construction of and provide fuel for two new nuclear energy facilities in North Korea. In return, North Korea will allow inspections of its suspicious nuclear sites in about five years, when construction of the energy plants is nearly complete.

Supporters of the treaty say that it enables the United States to ensure North Korean compliance because it includes a series of interlocking deadlines. Moreover, they think that the treaty gives the United States some economic leverage over North Korea, opening the isolated country to Western influence. Furthermore, supporters of the agreement believe that it paves the way for normalizing U.S.-North Korean relations, or establishing formal diplomatic ties, which they say is a key element in improving relations between North and South Korea.

However, critics contend that the agreement with North Korea rewards violation of the UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, thereby weakening the treaty itself—one of the only tools for enforcing nuclear nonproliferation. Opponents of the agreement believe that allowing inspections to be delayed and giving North Korea money and fuel are concessions it does not deserve. They think that the United States should not normalize diplomatic relations with a totalitarian regime that ignores international law.

Outlook

American policymakers face many obstacles as they redefine the U.S. relationship with a region that most experts believe is of vital economic and strategic interest. Japan is an important U.S. trading partner, but relations between the two countries have been threatened by disputes over trading practices. The United States must also develop a policy that will help free-market economic reforms take hold in China while encouraging the Chinese government to adopt a more democratic political system. Although U.S. and North Korean officials signed an agreement to halt North Korea's nuclear weapons program, many experts question if the United States can relationships that country's communist regime to honor the agreement. As Asia becomes a focal point of U.S. foreign policy, American leaders are finding that building relationships and cooperation is difficult in a region so culturally different from the United States.

Changing Japanese Leadership

For thirty-eight years, Japan was led by one party—the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), a staunchly conservative party despite its name. In August 1993, its sole leadership of Japan came to an end with the revelation of corruption within the government. Since then, Japan has had three different prime ministers as reform-minded parties have vied with the LDP for control. In June 1994, a coalition of the LDP and Socialists installed a Socialist prime minister, Tomichi Murayama. While some say that such leadership changes have made U.S.-Japan relations more difficult, others contend that reforming Japan's democratic system is needed to improve U.S.-Japan relations in the future.

The Debate

East Asia

The United States Should Withdraw Its Military Forces from Japan.

PRO

Now that the Cold War is over, the Mutual Security Treaty of 1952 is no longer necessary. Japan has the economic resources as well as the political legitimacy to begin providing for its own defense. Moreover, the U.S. military can no longer afford to protect Japan. Japan's economy has flourished partly because it has not had to pay for its own defense. It is time for Japan to provide its own security.

CON

The United States should maintain its bases in Japan because Japan is still vulnerable to China and Russia, and the region is very important to the U.S. economy and security. Moreover, Japan's neighbors still fear a militarized Japan. Thus, if Japan provides its own defense, it could set off a dangerous arms race in the region. A strong U.S. presence is necessary for regional stability and peace.

The United States Should Promote Trade with China.

PRO

Although China has made extraordinary economic progress, its transformation to capitalism is not complete. The United States should encourage democratic change in China by promoting economic prosperity, which in time will lead to a more democratic society. Restricting trade with China would undermine its reform and possibly return China to economic hardship and even more oppression of its people.

CON

The United States should not extend special trading privileges to any nation that systematically oppresses its people; trading privileges should only be granted to countries that promote democratic ideals. China's government shows no sign of relaxing its authoritarian rule or improving its human rights record. Trade restrictions would pressure Beijing to adopt democratic reforms.

The United States Should Normalize Relations with North Korea.

PRO

Normalizing relations with North Korea is the first step in bringing a lasting peace to the Korean peninsula. U.S. officials have begun the process with the agreement to end North Korea's nuclear program. The agreement will give the West unprecedented leverage and influence on this isolated country. Through improved U.S.-North Korean relations, North and South Korea can begin to mend differences that have divided them for forty years.

CON

The United States has no business improving relations with a nation that has broken international law and weakened the UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). The agreement to halt North Korea's nuclear program makes too many concessions, and there is no guarantee that North Korea will abide by this agreement any better than it did the NPT. The United States should not normalize relations with a nation that cannot be trusted.

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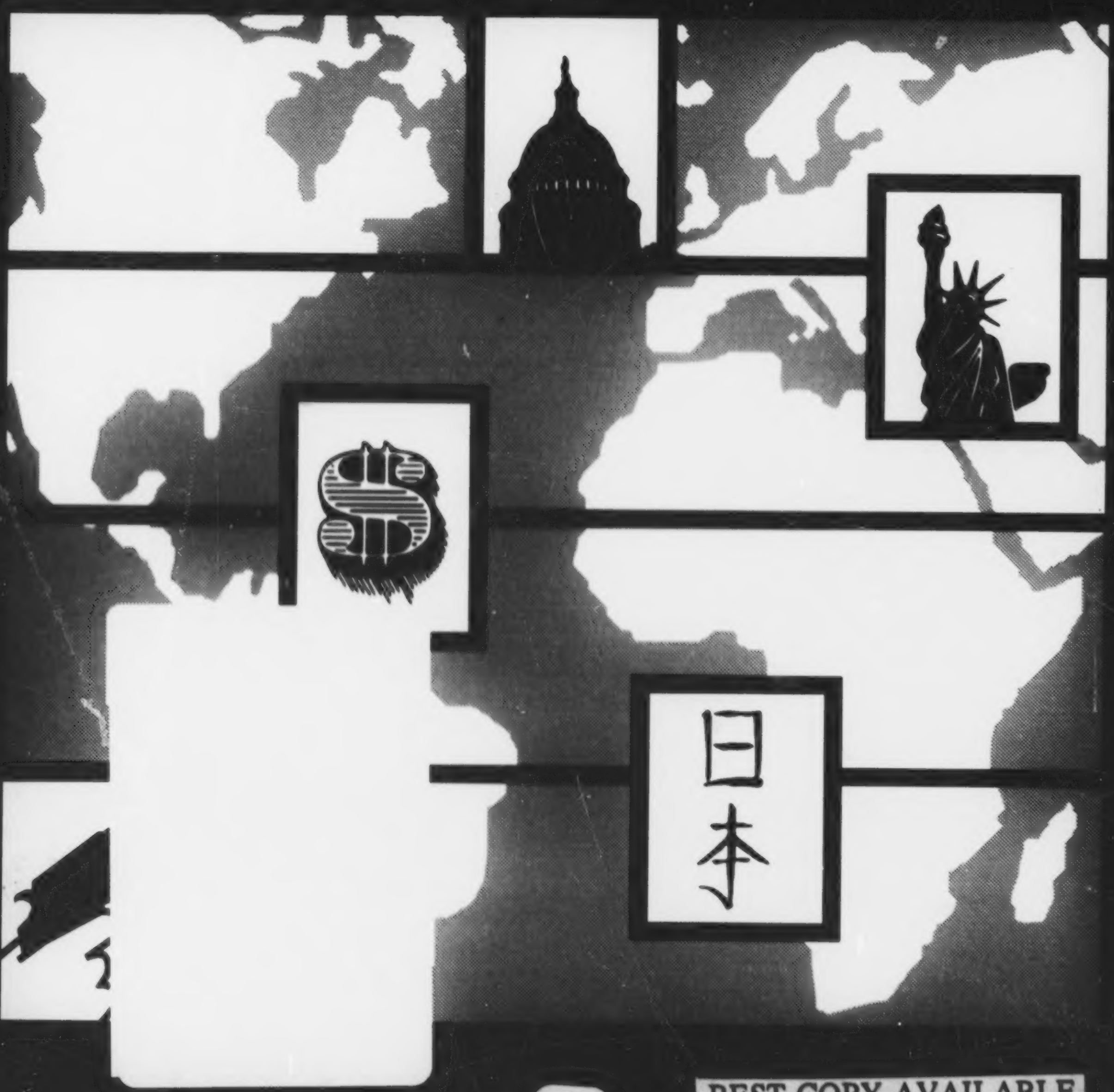

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Teacher's Guide

1996 Edition

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Stephen A. Janger, President

The Close Up Foundation is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that encourages responsible participation in the democratic process through educational programs and publications in government and citizenship. Since its founding in 1970, Close Up has been committed to developing new and better ways for young people, teachers, and a widening circle of citizens of all ages to gain a practical understanding of how public policy affects their lives and how individual and collective efforts affect public policy.

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Introduction

Social studies teachers have long recognized the benefits of incorporating current issues instruction into their classes. Many adults can remember the Thursday evenings they spent scanning the newspaper for a worthy article to take to Friday's current events discussion. Their teachers knew that discussions about current events were often highly motivational, encouraged students' involvement, and provided them with practical information about the world in which they lived. While these weekly exercises were usually informative and enjoyable, such a random approach can no longer adequately prepare students for the twenty-first century. As citizens in a democratic society that is part of an interdependent world network of nations, students need more than simple information about faraway places and national topics that happen to make today's front page.

To effectively exercise their responsibilities as citizens—the most important political office in American society—students need models for analyzing current issues. For example, they need to understand the dimensions of national security—how it can be measured, how it can be strengthened, and what its costs and benefits are. Without such a framework, students will be unable to decide what they think their government should do in certain critical situations. The study of current events should, therefore, teach students how to analyze important issues. Issues of social justice, national security, or economic interdependence will change yearly, but once students have acquired a model for analyzing such issues, they can apply that model forever.

Not only can current events instruction provide students with valuable analytical models, but it can also serve to develop critical-thinking skills. By defining problems, collecting and analyzing data, developing alternative solutions, selecting appropriate responses, working with others, defending a position, and persuading others, students can learn the skills and attitudes that will make them informed and effective citizens.

The United States and the world face issues that threaten their survival, and educators have a responsibility to prepare the next generation of citizens to think critically and to solve problems. The knowledge, skills, and attitudes developed by *Current Issues* can help you in this noble task.

What Is *Current Issues*?

Current Issues is a book, updated and published annually by the Close Up Foundation, that investigates twenty timely domestic and foreign policy issues. The *Current Issues* format provides students with an ideal framework for studying the complexities of the issues.

The introductory section of *Current Issues* titled "The Federal Government" gives students important facts about the present administration, Congress, and the Supreme Court as well as a summary of the federal budget process.

Following "The Federal Government" are the twenty issue chapters—ten under "Domestic Policy Issues" and ten under "Foreign Policy Issues." Each chapter introduces a subject and provides background, current issues, a pro/con debate of key policy questions, and the outlook for the future. A new lower-reading-level edition of *Current Issues* covers the same subjects in a less comprehensive way and provides the same features as the regular edition.

What Is the *Current Issues Teacher's Guide*?

The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* provides a variety of instructional activities to help you and your students make best use of *Current Issues*. The *Teacher's Guide* includes lesson plans for the introductory section and for the individual chapters in the book. Each set of lessons is designed to help students investigate and analyze intelligently the most pressing issues currently facing the United States and the world. Although the lessons are comprehensive, they also offer illustrative suggestions of how you might teach each unit. The lesson plans may be used exactly as written, or you can modify and adapt them as your professional judgment suggests is appropriate. Each chapter includes an activity and accompanying handout written specifically with the lower-reading-level *Current Issues* in mind. Such activities and handouts are marked with an icon. Of course, feel free to adapt any of the other activities or handouts to fit the audience that may be using the lower-reading-level edition.

The lesson plans in this guide use instructional strategies that help students develop a variety of citizenship skills. Each lesson includes student objectives, a list of terms and concepts, and several learning activities. One of the learning activities in each lesson highlights a focus skill such as conducting a survey, expressing an opinion, or supporting a position. The first activity—a motivational exercise introducing students to the issue and helping them recognize the personal significance of it—is followed by a series of in-depth learning activities that increase student understanding of the issue. Each lesson also includes enrichment activities that can be used to offer extra credit assignments for students who want to spend more time investigating a topic or to expand the study of selected issues.

The guide also contains unit test materials that you can easily reproduce. The test materials for each unit include ten objective true-false items, focusing on lower-level recall of basic information, and eight to ten subjective items that require students to use higher-level cognitive skills. An answer key for unit tests is included. The last section in the guide contains student handouts to be used along with many of the lessons.

Features of the Lesson Plans

Each lesson plan has several features to help you present the topic.

Focus Skill

One activity in each lesson plan unit focuses on a particular skill. To complete that activity, students are asked to perform a task that will help them learn a valuable skill. Activities feature such focus skills as researching and writing, defending a position, and conducting a survey. Pay particular attention to the focus skills, discuss them with students, and assist those who may be having difficulty in these areas.

Terms and Concepts

Students need to understand the specialized terms that are associated with each topic in *Current Issues*. The most effective way to teach such terms is in the context of the chapter. Relate new terms to those that students already know. Help them break down a word into its component parts so that it is easier to understand.

You can ask students to define the terms and concepts at the start of the lesson, as is traditional, or you may consider these alternatives:

- Have students individually list unfamiliar terms as they read the chapter, and then decide which key words are essential for an understanding of the issue.
- Have students create a glossary of specialized terms on three-by-five inch index cards or in a notebook while they are reading each chapter.
- Give extra credit for every example of a listed term or concept that students find in books, newspapers, and magazines, or every time they use a term correctly in class discussion.

Decision-Making/Problem-Solving Activities

Any thoughtful analysis of current domestic or international issues inherently involves making decisions and solving problems. A variety of models are available for leading students through this process. The steps in the model presented below can be written on poster paper and displayed at the front of the room. Then, throughout the course, whenever students are discussing a decision or addressing a problem, refer them to the model. Show students how they can apply the steps in most situations to find the best solution.

Decision-Making/Problem-Solving Model

1. Identify situations where a decision is required or a problem must be defined.
2. Identify likely sources of information about the issue(s).
3. Collect relevant information.
4. Classify, interpret, analyze, summarize, synthesize, and evaluate the information.
5. Recognize values related to the decision.
6. Prioritize values.
7. Identify alternative courses of action.
8. Predict the likely consequences of each alternative.
9. Make a decision based on the data you have and your most desired outcome.
10. Act to implement your decision.
11. Assess the results of implementing your decision.
12. Recognize the need to change your decision when warranted by new information.
13. Recognize gaps in information and areas needing further study.

Using Current Resources

While *Current Issues* provides an overview of national and international issues, the nature of such issues means that specific events and information about those events change daily. Therefore, many activities in the guide call upon your students to use outside sources of information. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television should all be among the resources used by students studying *Current Issues.*

Examining the Proper Role of Government

As long as governments have existed, philosophers, political scientists, and citizens have debated what the proper role of government should be. Most political decisions reflect the beliefs of decisionmakers about the proper role of government; political controversy is often rooted in different answers to this question.

This question is inherent in each issue in *Current Issues.* The *Teacher's Guide* lesson plans examine the role of government in the issues.

Encourage students to consider this basic political question at the beginning of the course and to decide what they think the proper role of government should be. Then, have them reevaluate their positions after studying each issue. Is their decision about a proper course of governmental action on one issue consistent with their belief about the role of government in general? If not, why not? Should their general philosophy be modified? By the end of the course, students should have a well-articulated position about the proper role of government, be able to support that position, and apply it consistently to a wide variety of domestic and international issues.

How to Teach Controversial Issues

Controversy is an inherent part of any discussion of current issues. Although some teachers and students are afraid of controversy and see it as something to be avoided, controversy is natural and can lead to a productive classroom experience if handled properly.

Controversy motivates students and generates interest. When teaching controversial subjects, you should be responsive to some of the characteristics unique to working with such material. Use the following guidelines to help you.

1. When dealing with controversial subjects, keep an open mind so that you can encourage your class to examine an array of ideas and develop the best one. You may wish to establish the following ground rules:
    - Everyone who has something to say will have an opportunity to say it.
    - Focus discussions on ideas, not on personalities or people.
    - Anyone can change a position at any time. Remember, just because you choose one position at the start does not mean you have to stay with it.
    - The purpose of discussion is understanding, not winning.
    - Define all terms.
    - Avoid unsupported, emotional statements.
    - Cite sources of information.
    - Do not interrupt others.
    - Listen to and respect the opinions of others.
2. When controversy appears, identify areas of agreement and disagreement and clearly describe the source of controversy. Recognize that consensus is probably not possible or desirable.
3. Respect the right of students not to express their opinion on some issues. Sometimes an issue can be so personal that students do not want to share their thoughts or feelings.
4. Students should recognize that disagreements are simply that. They do not mean that friendships must end or that someone is "stupid" or "wrong." One device for maintaining class harmony might be to follow substantive discus-

sions with an analysis of how well people listen, what made the discussion good or poor, and what the class might do to improve discussions.

5. Be certain that all sides of an issue have been fairly and equally presented. Biased sources present an opportunity to develop students' skills in detecting bias. If representatives of one side on an issue are invited to class, the other side should be represented, too. Play devil's advocate to have students carefully examine all sides of an issue. Urge students to closely evaluate all positions before choosing one.
6. If you express your opinion on an issue, do so at the end of the unit and clearly indicate that it is your opinion only. Be certain to explain why you hold a particular view and tell students that you do not want them to change their views because of your personal beliefs.
7. Be aware of local standards. Issues that may be discussed freely in one community may not be suitable for discussion in another. If there are groups in your community that might take exception to discussion of certain issues, you and your school's administration must decide how to deal with them.

How to Use *Current Issues*

Each of the six parts of a *Current Issues* chapter offers unique opportunities for teaching. Use the following techniques to help you explore more fully the educational possibilities of each part.

Introduction

1. Ask students to identify policy questions raised in the introduction.
2. Share your own information and knowledge about the issue.
3. Urge students to talk to their parents about the issue.
4. Encourage students to read and to watch newspaper and television coverage of the issue.
5. Ask students
   - What makes this topic a current issue?
   - What tone does the introduction set for the chapter?
   - How does this issue relate to others you have studied?
   - Why should a young person like you be interested in this issue?

Key Questions

1. Have students speculate on what they think are the key questions related to the issue before they read the "Key Questions" section.
2. Let students vote—either with a show of hands or on paper—their opinions on each key question. Share totals with the class. Repeat the vote again after students have read the chapter to see if opinions have changed.

3. Encourage students to focus their reading by keeping the key questions in mind throughout.
4. Use the key questions as items for surveys or questionnaires that students conduct with their peers or family members.

Note: The lower-reading-level *Current Issues* does not include Key Questions following the introduction, but you can convert the debate statements at the end of each chapter into key questions and use them in the same way as suggested above. Note also that, due to space constraints and to permit more in-depth analysis, the lower-reading-level *Current Issues* features only two of the three debate statements included in the standard edition.

Background

1. Discuss the effect of the past on the present and the importance of historical precedent.
2. Alert students to pay attention to unfamiliar terms and concepts as they are presented.
3. Ask students to predict what current issues will be presented, based on the background reading.
4. Relate major historical events in the background section to issues studied in other chapters and to material covered in other social studies courses.

Current Issues

1. Ask students to explain the most important aspect of this issue. Why is the issue included in *Current Issues* this year? Suggest that students read other sources to see if anything new has happened since the book was published.
2. Relate the issue to newspaper, magazine, and television coverage that students may be following.
3. Encourage students to share their views on the issues with friends, family, or government representatives.
4. Demonstrate the complexity of issues in class discussion by pointing out how issues overlap (i.e., energy and environment, immigration and education) and how U.S. issues affect others around the world (i.e., the U.S. economy and Europe, U.S. energy and world trade).
5. Ask students to select one aspect of the issue that is of special interest to them and explain their choice to the rest of the class.

Outlook

1. Ask students to characterize the "Outlook" section as positive, negative, or ambivalent. How do they personally feel about the outlook for the issue?
2. Relate the forecast in the "Outlook" section to the "Background" and "Current Issues" sections. Have students consider whether or not the chapter's look into the future was predictable.
3. Allow students to brainstorm ways they could effect change so that the projection in the "Outlook" section would be more to their liking.
4. Have students rewrite the "Outlook" section to make it agree with their views.

The Debate

1. Urge students to take a stand on each debate question. Have their views changed since the beginning of the unit? If so, have them explore why.
2. Help students analyze the arguments given for each side of the question. Is one side stronger than the other, or are the differences merely a matter of opinion?
3. Ask students to speculate on which side of the debate questions most people in their age group would stand. Then, ask them on which side they think most Americans would stand.
4. Have students find out their representative's and senators' views on the questions.
5. Ask students to label the views presented in the debate as liberal or conservative. Why did students label the issues as they did?
6. Discuss the interrelatedness of the issues. Is there any middle ground between the pro and the con arguments presented?

Charts, Graphs, Maps, Photos, and Cartoons

1. As students study the charts and graphs in *Current Issues*, remind them to:
   - Determine the kind of illustration it is—bar graph, frequency curve, pictograph, or merely a list of data.
   - Note the title, because it is the key to understanding the chart or graph.
   - Pay attention to what both axes in a graph represent and to the scale being used.
   - Check the legend or key. What do all the shadings and symbols represent?
   - Find any trends or contrasts evident in the illustration.
   - Speculate on why the illustration was included.
2. By relating the maps used in *Current Issues* to the skills developed in social studies classes, you can help your students interpret these maps. The following reminders may also help:
   - Find the illustrated area on the globe to locate its position in the world. Find the scale of the map.
   - Check the map's key and legend.
   - Look at more detailed maps of the same area if you want to find further information.
   - Notice the surrounding areas, and think about how geography affects the character of a nation or region.
   - How does the map help you understand the issue?
3. The photos and cartoons in *Current Issues* were all selected to clarify the issues. Remind students of the following:
   - Read the caption to learn more about the photo or cartoon and the issue at hand.
   - Speculate on why the photo or cartoon was included in the chapter.
   - Speculate on what message the photo or cartoon is trying to convey.

Additional Activities

A variety of additional teaching activities and devices are offered here to enhance your current issues course. These activities should complement the previous suggestions and tie together all portions of the units for your students.

You may wish to incorporate the following activities into the *Current Issues* units:

1. Maintain a current issues bulletin board in your classroom. Students should bring in newspaper and magazine articles relating to the issue under study and post them on the board.
2. Discuss general questions with the class such as:
    - What makes an issue a current issue?
    - What issues were current when their parents or grandparents were teenagers?
    - What issues do they think will be current when their children or grandchildren are in high school?
3. Have students enter their thoughts and feelings about each lesson in a journal. The journal will allow students to express candidly their reactions to the issues they have just studied, and should be particularly valuable for students who have difficulty sharing their views in class. If students are willing to hand in their journals periodically, you may gain valuable information about their reactions to the lessons. Or students may wish to write reactions to something they have read, a class activity, a recent headline, or comments from the class. If students wish, allow them to share their journal entries with the class.

Follow-up Activities

After you have completed your study of *Current Issues*, you may wish to use one or more of these follow-up activities to give students some feeling of closure. These activities will help students synthesize and evaluate the information they have learned and reinforce the interrelatedness of the issues.

1. Provide students with a list of all the issues you have studied and have them rank the issues. Students could rank the issues according to what they have learned, their personal preferences, and the issues' importance for study and discussion at this time. Then ask them to circle four or five issues that they consider to be most crucial to our times and to justify their choices in a brief essay.
2. To demonstrate the interrelatedness of the issues they have studied, ask students to write an essay explaining: (1) how the issues affect one another, and (2) how the issues affect global relations. Students should incorporate as many issues as possible.
3. If students have kept journals, have them analyze their journals at the end of the course. Which issues have made the most profound impact on them?

Why? Can they find any pattern to their reactions? Are their responses mostly positive, negative, or a mixture? Why do they think this is so? What would an outside reader think about their positions?

4. Try a sentence completion activity, either orally or in writing. Some suggestions for open-ended sentences include the following:
   - I wish we had studied more about ________________.
   - I wish we had spent less time on ________________.
   - My favorite learning activity was ________________.
   - The most important lesson I have learned from this course is ________.
   - In my opinion, the most important issue of our time is ____________.
5. As a concluding activity, break the students into groups of four or five. Their task is to revise the federal budget based on what they have learned about the domestic and foreign policy issues covered in this book.

   Have students read the section in *Current Issues* entitled "The Federal Budget." Students should create their own budget by working together in groups and coming to agreement on the figures. Each group should be prepared to address the following questions.
   - What budget items did you cut? Why?
   - What budget items did you increase? Why?
   - Did you increase the entire budget? Why or why not?
   - What percentage of the entire budget is allotted to each category? Where is your heaviest spending? Where is your least spending?
   - Did you add or delete any budget categories? Why?

Ask students what they learned from trying to balance spending needs and from getting their group to agree. Relate their experiences in developing a budget to those of Congress. What are the similarities and differences?

Duplicate each group's budget and distribute it to the class. Then, have each group present its budget. Encourage students to use visual aids such as a pie chart to clarify their budgets. Each group should be prepared to answer questions from the rest of the class. If time allows, you might ask the class to arrive at a consensus budget. This might best be accomplished by choosing a committee made up of one member from each group.

Note: To help students learn more about the budget process, you might want to obtain Close Up Publishing's budget simulation, *Slicing the Pie*.

Instructional Strategies

The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* incorporates a wide range of activities. While you have undoubtedly developed a teaching style that works for you and your students and feels comfortable, educational research increasingly shows that the most successful teachers are those who can effectively apply a wide array of teaching strategies. Successful use of teaching strategies requires attention to at least minimal guidelines for each. The following section provides you with some general "tricks of the trade" and suggestions derived from experienced classroom instructors.

Brainstorming

Brainstorming is a technique for quickly generating a broad spectrum of ideas about a topic. Because no initial evaluation or discussion is allowed, brainstorming is a nonthreatening strategy that allows every student to participate regardless of academic ability. The topic for brainstorming should be clearly stated, allow for a diversity of ideas, and require no extensive prior knowledge for a student to become involved. Responses should be posted as students call them out, and no discussion should be permitted because it may inhibit creative but risky ideas. You may want to write the following brainstorming rules on the board before you start:

- Say anything that comes to mind.
- Piggybacking on the ideas of others is permitted.
- Do not evaluate or criticize what others say.
- When you cannot think of anything else, wait a minute and try again.

Another strategy for encouraging creativity is to apply the SCAMPER technique to each of the ideas suggested during brainstorming. SCAMPER allows the teacher to stimulate responses and organize them properly.

SCAMPER Technique

S-substitute, subtract
C-combine
A-adapt, add
M-modify, minify, magnify
P-put to other uses, piggyback
E-eliminate
R-reverse, rearrange

Conclude a brainstorming session by focusing students' attention on the purpose for conducting the activity.

Debate

A debate can be an effective means of presenting most positions on current issues. It may be difficult to involve all students in a single debate, so non-team members should serve as judges, moderators, or timekeepers to maintain interest. Holding several debates will allow all students to be on a debate team. The following debate procedures may be helpful when conducting a debate:

1. Select a topic—possibly one suggested by the class.
2. State the topic as a resolution. For example: Federal funding for the homeless should be increased.
3. Select pro and con debaters and allow them time to research and prepare.
4. Select a timekeeper and a moderator.
5. Seat the debaters in front of the class with the moderator in the middle; position the side favoring the resolution to the right of the moderator and the opponents to the left.
6. Begin the debate by having the moderator read the resolution and introduce the first speaker supporting the resolution. Speakers may only talk for a predetermined length of time.

7. The first opposition speaker then presents his or her arguments for the same amount of time. This format of alternating pro and con speakers continues until all speakers have presented initial arguments.
8. Rebuttal arguments are made for the specified amount of time beginning with the group opposed to the resolution.
9. Conclude the debate by polling the class. Discuss any changes of position in the audience. What were the most persuasive arguments presented by both sides?

Panel Discussion

A panel discussion is an effective means of researching and discussing a topic while allowing a sizable number of students to participate. The following guidelines may help you conduct a panel discussion:

1. The moderator introduces the topic and panelists.
2. Panelists present their views for a specified amount of time until all have spoken.
3. Panelists are given an opportunity to question other panelists and to discuss the issue.
4. The moderator closes the discussion with a summary of panel presentations.
5. The moderator calls for a forum period during which the class may question panelists.
6. Conclude the panel discussion by polling the class. Discuss any changes of position in the audience. What were the most persuasive arguments presented?

Classroom Use of Resource Persons

Local communities often offer a vast, untapped resource. The Close Up Foundation has been a pioneer in using experts in the community to educate youth. Close Up believes that community members have much to offer students and should be included in school instruction as often as possible.

Teachers have often invited local citizens into their classes as guest lecturers. One of the most effective uses of resource persons is to provide students with a problem or issue similar to one which the resource person must face in his or her work.

Ask students what they would do in dealing with the problem or issue. Then have the resource person critique students' responses. This strategy has the benefit of limiting preparation time for the resource person because he or she simply has to apply professional knowledge in responding to students' problem-solving strategies or perspectives. In addition, such a tactic generates student interest because the resource person is bringing his or her expertise to bear on students' own ideas. This technique usually generates healthy discussion and a large number of questions.

Teachers and resource persons should always work together closely to plan the classroom visit. The following tips can help you prepare a resource person for a successful visit to your class.

1. Prepare the resource person. Tell him or her about the characteristics of your students, what they have been studying, and what to expect from them. Suggest topics you would like to have the person cover and find out what he or she requires for the presentation.
2. Prepare students adequately. Give necessary assignments far enough in advance so that students can complete them. Discuss the background of the resource person and explain procedures for the visit.
3. Have one or two students meet your guest and direct him or her to the classroom.
4. Have students prepare name tags or desk nameplates to help the resource person identify students.
5. Assist the resource person in classroom management if necessary. Do not leave the room.
6. Begin classroom activities immediately.
7. If necessary, help your visitor terminate the presentation and depart gracefully.
8. Provide the resource person with feedback about the presentation and write a note of appreciation.
9. Have alternatives planned just in case the resource person does not arrive. These alternatives should be educationally sound and fit in the context of the current unit of instruction.
10. You might want to give the resource persons the following do's and don'ts ahead of time to make them feel more comfortable.

    Do

    - consider the age and experience of the audience.
    - prepare adequately.
    - maintain eye contact.
    - solicit feedback frequently.
    - encourage active participation early on and throughout the presentation.
    - be yourself; let your personality show; be natural; smile; relax.
    - call on and interact with a variety of students.
    - circulate around the room.
    - involve the teacher.
    - make sure everyone hears all questions and answers.
    - know the objectives of your visit and how the visit relates to what students have been studying.

Don't

- lecture at students.
- use jargon or unfamiliar words.
- act condescendingly.
- become angry at heckling or passive response.
- react defensively to criticism.
- read a prepared speech.
- talk in a monotone.
- assume that students either have or lack knowledge about a given point (find out what they know).

Role-Plays and Simulations

One of the most effective instructional techniques, when used correctly, is role-play or simulation. This technique enables students to experience a situation from the perspective of persons actually involved in a similar situation. Role-plays and simulations are an effective means of transmitting knowledge, and they have a powerful effect on attitudes as well. Finally, role-plays and simulations are excellent ways of allowing students to examine a situation from all perspectives and practice critical thinking.

The following guidelines will help you conduct role-plays and simulations:

1. Present the problem, situation, or task clearly and make sure students understand what they are expected to do.
2. Help students identify appropriate sources of information that will inform them of the perspective of the group or person they represent.
3. Involve everyone. If there are not enough roles for all students, create new ones or conduct several versions of the simulation simultaneously.
4. Involve all students as quickly as possible.
5. Begin with simple activities. Students without experience in role plays and simulations may require time to develop the skills necessary to do them well.
6. Consider having students reverse roles. Assign students to represent views that they do not advocate personally.
7. Be certain before beginning that students adequately understand the perspective of the individual or group they represent. Allow students enough time to locate and analyze information and prepare their roles. Use this preparation time to talk with groups and individuals to gauge the degree to which they understand their roles.
8. Create an accepting environment where students can make mistakes, take risks, and be creative while being responsible. Do not expect polished performances immediately.
9. Conclude with a thorough discussion. Highlight the instructional objectives you had for the activity. What did you want students to gain from the

activity? Relate the role-plays or simulations to what students had been and will be studying. Explore how students felt and what their feelings suggest about the people who experience the situation in real life. Did students feel that the roles they played were accurate representations of the real people? What did they learn from the experience?

Do not be discouraged if the role-play or simulation does not work well the first few times you use it. This technique can be difficult to use initially but pays handsome dividends once mastered.

Small-Group Cooperative Learning

Many teachers have been doing small-group work for years. Recent research suggests ways in which teachers can conduct small-group activities more effectively than by simply putting students into groups and assigning them a task.

The following guidelines will help you use cooperative small-group work:

1. Small-group activities can create opportunities for loss of control; there fore, such activities require class members to follow rules. Sample rules might include the following:
   - Move quickly and quietly to groups and remain there.
   - Talking between groups is prohibited.
   - Talking within groups must be done quietly.
   - All groups must have leaders whose task is to keep the group working, make sure that everyone participates, and keep discussions focused on the issues.
2. Organize groups heterogeneously and design group tasks in such a way that every student becomes involved.
3. Encourage students to help each other without actually doing the work of another group member. One way to encourage cooperation is to award grades based on individual work and grades based on the performance of the group. Design tasks so that each individual student can be assisted by his or her peers, but cannot have the peers do the work of the individual.
4. Help students develop the skills necessary to work well in small groups. You might review the content objectives of each activity and discuss the following questions:
   - What helped this group work well together?
   - What interfered with this group's working well together?
   - What could members do next time to help improve this group's work?
   - Did everyone participate? Why or why not?
5. Keep group size small; three to five students is optimal.
6. Give clear directions and allow adequate time for students to complete the task.

7. Monitor group activities to spot areas of difficulty.
8. Use small groups only for cooperative tasks, not for independent work while merely sitting with others.

Developing Research Skills

An essential part of every student's education is to learn how to research an issue, adopt a position, and argue persuasively for that position. Many students have few skills in these areas. If students are to obtain the information that they need to act as informed public policy shapers, they need your help in developing these essential skills. The following list of skills provides a handy sequential organizer whereby teachers can guide students through the research process.

1. Recognize that research should be aimed at gaining understanding and a complete view of an issue, not simply at gathering information to argue a predetermined point.
2. Learn how to limit a subject based on time and resources available.
3. Identify sources of appropriate information.
4. Use indexes, tables of contents, and other aids to locate pertinent information quickly.
5. Understand information in written, pictorial, graphic, cartographic, mathematical, and other formats.
6. Evaluate sources of information for bias, accuracy, pertinence, and authority.
7. Take notes.
8. Organize information.
9. Analyze information and draw inferences.
10. Synthesize information and develop arguments.
11. Organize ideas.
12. Support ideas.
13. Articulate or write ideas in an organized and readable manner.
14. Document sources.

The Close Up staff hopes that the information presented in this introduction will make your task of teaching *Current Issues* easier and enrich the quality of instruction for your students. Each section of the introduction is designed to make *Current Issues* a more usable resource for your classroom and the comprehensive and motivational textbook you need to teach current issues effectively.

The lesson plans that follow offer specific teaching activities, test materials, and handouts for each chapter in *Current Issues*. The keys to using these lesson plans and each section of the *Current Issues* chapters have been presented in this introduction. These keys can open up new understanding and perspective for your students as they explore the current issues of our time.

Lesson Plans

The Federal Government

The Clinton Administration 23
The 104th Congress 23
The Supreme Court 23
The Federal Budget 23

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The Clinton Administration
The 104th Congress
The Supreme Court
The Federal Budget

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Identify key members of the Clinton administration and their chief responsibilities.
2. Identify leaders of Congress and of House and Senate committees.
3. Discuss the makeup and functions of the Supreme Court.
4. Explain the budget process.
5. Examine categories of income and expenditures in the federal budget.

Terms and Concepts

- appropriation bill
- associate justice
- authorization bill
- budget deficit
- cabinet
- chief justice
- fiscal year
- Gramm-Rudman-Hollings
- joint budget resolution
- majority and minority leaders
- Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
- reconciliation bill
- revenue-raising bill
- whip

Activities

1. To introduce the unit, ask students to define government. Discuss why government is necessary. Divide the class into small groups of three or four students and ask them to consider and jot down answers to the questions below. (Encourage students to be specific and to cite examples whenever possible.)

- What services and rights should you expect from government?
- What impact does government have on your daily life?
- What impact can you have on the government and its policies?
- What would happen if government suddenly ceased to exist?

After an appropriate period of time, have a spokesperson from each group give his or her group's responses to the questions. Do all groups agree? Point out that differences of opinion on questions such as these reflect similar differences in political parties, Congress, and society at large.

Finally, ask students what conclusions they can draw from this discussion. Point out that it is vital that students be informed about all aspects of the operation of government and that becoming informed is one of the goals of studying *Current Issues.*

2. After students read "The Clinton Administration," have them consider the following questions:

- What qualifications are common for high-level officials in the executive branch?

- Why do you think certain persons were selected for certain positions? Were they all qualified? Have they had other federal jobs?
- What common personal characteristics or traits do many officials in the executive branch share?

Next, using a wide variety of current events sources, have students identify controversial or important issues being faced by officials listed in "The Clinton Administration." You might want to assign each official to one or two students to ensure that all are covered. Students should consider how decisions made by these officials influence the country, students' friends and neighbors, and the students themselves. Discuss the political ideology of several of these men and women, and encourage students to predict their actions during the next year.

Focus Skill: Library Research

One purpose of this activity is to encourage students to use library resources to find information necessary to complete the work.

3. Open the discussion by asking the class what "separation of powers" means. Explain that in the American political system, each branch of government is assigned a specific function: the legislative branch—Congress—makes laws; the executive branch—led by the president—enforces laws; and the judicial branch—federal courts and the Supreme Court—interprets laws. Review with the class the historical reasons for adopting this system. Ask what problems separation of powers can and does cause.

Next, have students read "The 104th Congress," and then, working in pairs, allow them time to fill in the names under "Who's Who in Congress." Encourage them to use the school library to find the necessary information. They can find information in such publications as *Politics in America*, published by Congressional Quarterly; *The Almanac of American Politics*, published by the National Journal; the *Congressional Staff Directory*, published by Staff Directories, Inc.; and other current periodicals and almanacs. In addition to filling out "Who's Who in Congress," students should write brief sketches for each congressional leader similar to the sketches provided for members of the executive branch in the previous section. Are any Senate or House leaders from their state? How did these members of Congress become leaders in their respective legislative bodies?

Finally, select several important issues facing Congress this year and ask students how they think certain members will vote on certain issues. Ask them to support their predictions.

4. Begin the activity by asking students to imagine how society would operate if there were no courts to resolve differences of opinion. Discuss their responses. Then, point out some unique features of federal judges: (1) they are not elected; (2) they serve for life; and (3) they can only be removed from office through impeachment. Ask students to explain what the motives of the framers of the Constitution might have been for establishing such rules. (They wanted a judiciary free from political pressure and one that would base its decisions solely on the Constitution and the law rather than on what might be popular or politically expedient.)

Broaden the discussion by explaining that judges, like everyone else, have a broad range of opinions. The opinions they hold reveal whether they are liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between. Discuss with students how liberals and conservatives generally view the role of government in society. But also be sure to stress that attaching labels to political opinions can be misleading. Some Americans are liberal on social issues and conservative on economic issues. Others are just the opposite. In reality, most Americans consider themselves to be moderates in political ideology.

Focus the discussion by asking what difference it makes whether the Supreme Court has a liberal or a conservative majority. Students should read "The Supreme Court" in *Current Issues* and, either in class discussion or in writing, answer the following questions:

- What is the main function of the Supreme Court?
- How does the Court shape American political and social life?
- How has the Burger-Rehnquist court differed in its decisions from the Warren court?
- What influence has President Reagan had on the Supreme Court?
- What influence has President Bush had on the Court?
- What influence has President Clinton had on the Court?

5. Write on the board $1,612,100,000. Explain that this figure represents the federal budget for fiscal year 1996. Have students read "The Federal Budget," paying particular attention to the charts and graphs.

Then, divide the class into groups of no more than five, and distribute **Student Handout 1—Ranking the Budget.** Explain that each group has fifteen minutes to complete the first part of the handout. Point out that the twenty categories listed are merely representative of the thousands of existing programs. When time is up, have a representative from each group read its list. Compare the results. Can the entire class reach a consensus on the nation's budget priorities? Then, have the groups meet again to discuss the second part of **Student Handout 1,** which asks them to describe the economic, social, and political implications of their budget as it reflects their priorities.

Refer students to the chart on page 34 of the standard edition of *Current Issues* and page 36 of the lower-reading-level edition of *Current Issues*, which shows how federal money is spent. In the subsequent discussion, try to address the following issues:

- The federal deficit poses serious problems for all Americans.
- Reducing federal expenditures is difficult, especially given the likely public response to cuts in popular areas.
- Increasing taxes may be necessary to balance the budget.
- Congress and the president must cooperate during the budget process.

- The ideological positions held by leaders in the executive and legislative branches exert a powerful influence on the budget process.

6. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Federal Government" section, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 2—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the branches of the federal government and the budget. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the federal government. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Encourage students to become and stay informed about current events by having them bring to class one article each week from a newspaper or magazine pertaining to a current issue. The article should be accompanied by a summary of its main points and the student's reaction to the issues it raises. By doing this, students will learn to appreciate that the U.S. political system is dynamic and flexible. Post the articles on a bulletin board under appropriate heads and spend a few minutes each day reviewing the new additions.

2. Have students research and write sketches of each Supreme Court justice. Urge them to pay particular attention to the justices' past records. Discuss each justice in class, and ask if justices ever change their political ideology once they are on the Supreme Court. Suggest some reasons why.

3. One often forgotten member of the administration is the vice president. Have students research the office of the vice president to find out what the qualifications are, what famous men have held the position, and what the vice president's duties are. Then lead a class discussion on these findings. How are vice presidential candidates chosen? Why was Al Gore chosen by Bill Clinton to be his running mate in 1992? Was Gore qualified? Have there been vice presidential candidates whose qualifications were questioned? Did any of them go on to become president? You might mention the concerns many had about Harry Truman's qualifications, or the fact that President Eisenhower had serious doubts about Richard Nixon and many advised Eisenhower to drop Nixon from the ticket in 1956.

Lesson Plans

Domestic Policy Issues

The Economy 29
Education 31
Women and Minorities 35
Poverty 37
Health Care 41
Immigration 43
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Constitutional Rights 53
Crime and Drugs 57

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The Economy

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Recognize the interdependence of economic issues.
2. Respond to questions based on readings.

Activities

1. Begin by pointing out to students that many relationships among the economic concepts described in "The Economy" may not always be readily apparent to them. Then, distribute **Student Handout 3—Cause/Effect Relationships.** Divide the class into groups of three or four, and ask each group to analyze each pair of terms listed on the handout. They should try to determine how the two terms in each pair relate to each other. When groups have finished, have the whole class analyze the items on the handout. Use the discussion guide below to help you lead the class discussion. Encourage students to offer any additional relationships they may have noted along the way.

Discussion Guide for Student Handout 3

1. If other countries produce more, they can spread their costs among more products, thereby reducing the sale price of individual items.
2. People buy fewer American products and more foreign products when the dollar rises. Therefore, American companies may close down or reduce their workforce.
3. When the government overspends, it has to borrow money to pay its bills. This means that both the government and consumers are asking banks for loans. When demand goes up, prices generally follow. Interest rates work the same way: When demand for money is high, interest rates go up.
4. If businesses have to pay more to borrow money, they will be reluctant to expand. They will, therefore, be less likely to hire new workers.
5. If the value of money goes down (inflation), people have little incentive to save. Therefore, banks have less money to loan to consumers or businesses.
6. If taxes are reduced, businesses can keep more of their profits to use for expansion. Thus, they will likely hire more workers.
7. When people are laid off, they can collect unemployment compensation. When unemployment rises, the government has to pay more for unemployment compensation, causing the deficit to worsen. Plus, unemployed people pay fewer taxes; this also adds to the deficit.
8. When Americans reduce the number of foreign products they buy, they reduce the income of foreigners. Thus, foreigners have less money to spend on imports from the United States.

Terms and Concepts

- balanced budget amendment
- budget deficit
- Federal Reserve Board
- Group of Seven (G-7)
- inflation
- international interdependence
- productivity
- recession
- supply-side economics
- unemployment

Focus Skill: Analyzing Relationships

One purpose of this activity is to show students how economic events are related to one another and how they may affect one another.

2. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "The Economy," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 4—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the economy. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the economy. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students create a visual expression of a position they support from the "Debate" section of the chapter. Their visual could be in the form of a diagram, a set of political cartoons, a collage, or any other medium they wish to use. Tell them that they should illustrate their positions effectively enough so that others in the class can know exactly what their positions are by viewing the illustration. Once the visuals are finished, display together all those that represent the same topic. In a class discussion, have students analyze the illustrations. Which are the most powerful? Which would the current administration most support? Which would be most supported by the party out of power?

2. Organize debates on the key questions in "The Economy."

- Congress should pass a balanced budget amendment.
- The government should lower taxes.
- The minimum wage should be increased.

Refer to the section on page 14 under "Instructional Strategies" to get tips on organizing and conducting your debates.

Education

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Identify problems and reform efforts in U.S. public schools.
2. Debate issues of national education standards, student loans, and school choice.
3. Match vocabulary words with appropriate descriptions.
4. Analyze charts and photos.

Terms and Concepts

- *A Nation at Risk*
- busing
- defaulted loans
- desegregation
- Economic Opportunity Act
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)
- Goals 2000: Educate America Act
- Head Start
- Higher Education Act
- magnet schools
- mainstreaming
- national standards
- school choice
- vouchers

Activities

1. Have students read the "Background" and "Current Issues" sections of "Education" in *Current Issues*. Ask them to list the problems identified in the chapter, including those identified by the report, *A Nation at Risk*. Then, in a class discussion, have them identify reforms that some districts and schools have made in response to the problems.

Once students understand the basic problems in education today and the types of reforms that are being implemented in school districts around the nation, have them do research on how the problems and reforms apply to your school district.

First, divide the class into groups of four or five. Then, tell students that they are going to present a mock television report called "Channel 99 Roving Reporter—Focus on Our School." They are going to report on the status of their school in relation to the problems and reforms identified in *Current Issues*. Each group should choose which research topic or topics to investigate. Sample topics are listed at the end of this activity; others could be added. Some topics will take more time to investigate than others, sc divide them among student groups accordingly.

Student Handout 5—Research Outline can be used to help students organize their research. They should talk with teachers, counselors, administrators, and district personnel to learn pertinent information. After students have collected this information, they need to analyze the material and write down their thoughts. What changes do they think should be implemented to deal with the problems? What are the costs and/or benefits of such changes?

Focus Skill: Group Cooperation

One purpose of this activity is to give students the opportunity to learn to work together in groups to accomplish their final goal.

On the day of the mock TV report, have members from each group report to the class, taking the roles of reporters. Urge the rest of the class to question the reporters about their topic. If you have video equipment, tape the session.

To conclude the activity, ask students which reforms or changes they think should be implemented. Which ones may take time to implement? Which could be implemented quickly? How might the quality of their education be affected by implementation of their ideas?

Sample Research Topics:

- funding sources for the local school district and areas of possible budget cuts
- local district teachers' salaries compared to neighboring districts and to professions requiring similar educational levels
- local district testing program—what is tested, at what grade levels, and conclusions drawn from the test results
- school reforms in your state and district since *A Nation at Risk* was published
- percentage of district funds used for students with special needs, including any construction costs incurred to make buildings more accessible for students with physical disabilities
- district and state drop-out rates and how they are calculated
- graduation rate of students starting first grade
- state and federal requirements your district must meet
- comparison of per-pupil costs in your district with similar neighboring districts
- cost, benefit, and nature of program for instructing non-English-speaking students in your school or district
- satisfaction rate of students and teachers with your school

2. Organize a debate over the issues raised by "Key Questions" in the "Education" chapter. Do not tell students which side or which issue they will actually debate until five or ten minutes before the debate begins. This tactic will force students to prepare to debate all three issues from both sides. Urge them to read *Current Issues* carefully along with other outside sources such as newspapers and newsmagazines. Debate the following statements:

- The federal government should set national education standards.
- The federal government should subsidize student loans.
- Parents should be allowed to choose their children's schools.

Select students for issues and sides in any way you think best—either by having them state their preferences or by drawing names out of a hat. You may want to select small teams of students to represent each topic and side and allow them to prepare their arguments as a team, or you may wish to have students debate one-on-one. After each issue has been debated, ask the class which arguments were most persuasive. Ask debaters if their views changed or if they better understand the position of the other side.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "Education," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 6—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about education in America. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on education. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Regarding the question "Should parents be allowed to choose their children's schools?" ask students to decide which school they would attend if they could choose. Why would they stay, or why would they change? Do they think that the general distribution of students among schools in the area would change greatly? Which schools would experience increased enrollments? Why? Which would experience reduced enrollments? Why? If transportation were not provided by the school district, how would school enrollments be affected if parents were allowed to choose?

2. For purposes of comparison, have students investigate the school systems of England, Germany, Russia, or Japan. They should find it interesting to compare and contrast the systems. Among the topics that could be included are the role of the national government, attitudes toward ability tracking, general education requirements, typical course loads, and college admissions requirements.

3. Have your class conduct a survey to find out how many students in your school have part-time jobs. You might want to divide the class into several groups, with each group surveying a particular segment of students. For example, each of three or four groups could survey one grade in your school. Or, there may be some other groups in your school that you think might be interesting to survey. Dividing respondents into particular groups like this will allow your class to compare statistics and observe trends. Surveys should find out the following from each respondent:

- hours worked per week
- time of day respondent works (during school hours, after school, evening, or early morning)

- type of work
- gender of student
- reason for working
- extracurricular activities
- effect of job on school work

You may add to or subtract from this list, as you see fit. Tally survey results and post them on the board or make copies for all to see. Discuss the results and their implications in class. It might be interesting for the school newspaper to publish the results of your class's survey.

Women and Minorities

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Define affimative action.
2. Discuss discrimination and steps taken to combat it.
3. Analyze a cartoon.
4. Examine the vocabulary of the chapter.

Activities

1. Begin by asking students to define "affirmative action." Relate affirmative action to the American belief in equality of opportunity. Discuss with students whether racial and ethnic groups and women who have been victims of discrimination should be compensated in some way by the government.

To focus the discussion, distribute **Student Handout 7—Discrimination Cases.** Allow enough time for the students to consider each situation. Then, discuss the issues raised in the handout. The following questions may help you lead the discussion:

- If you support affirmative action for an African American or Mexican American in any of the cases, would you also support it for a white American whose family is dysfunctional and has a low income and who attended a poor school?
- Do minority Americans whose backgrounds are not underprivileged have a moral claim against society because their ancestors were oppressed?

Encourage debate on each case, and remind students that emotion alone is not an adequate basis for argument. What conclusion can students draw from this discussion? Why is this an emotional issue? Relate the discussion in class to a debate Congress may have on affirmative action, quotas, and civil rights.

2. Begin by having students discuss their own experiences. Have they ever been victims of discrimination? If so, in what ways? How did they react to their experiences? Do they think they have ever knowingly discriminated against someone else? What caused them to do so? Do students have different expectations for males and females? Do students feel discomfort when they are around a disabled person? Do they feel disabled students should be mainstreamed?

Follow this opening discussion by telling students to talk to their parents and grandparents or others in the community about what they remember about discrimination, the civil rights movement, and how women's roles have changed in their lifetimes. They should jot down notes as they talk to members of their

Terms and Concepts

- affirmative action
- Americans with Disabilities Act
- *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*
- Civil Rights Act of 1957
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Civil Rights Restoration Act
- comparable worth
- domestic partners
- "don't ask, don't tell" policy
- "Jim Crow" laws
- *Plessy v. Ferguson*
- poll tax
- segregation
- suffragists
- Voting Rights Act

Focus Skill: Group Discussion

One purpose of this activity is to allow students to thoroughly discuss a topic as members of a small group—responding to the leadership of one of their peers—and then to develop a paper summarizing their discussion.

family and community and then share this informal oral history with the class the next day. How do the stories compare?

Finally, divide the class into discussion groups of four or five for the purpose of defining prejudice and discrimination, talking about personal attitudes, and developing a short report on how prejudice comes about and what can or should be done to prevent it. Each group (or you) should choose a group leader to keep the discussion moving and orderly and to write the final report. As group discussions proceed, students should jot down notes to help them and their group leader prepare the paper. The reports should define prejudice and tell what kinds of discrimination exist today. They should tell who the likely victims of discrimination are and will be and speculate on what causes discrimination. Finally, the reports should offer solutions to discrimination and prejudice in the United States. After groups have had sufficient time, ask each group leader to report on his or her group's discussion and be prepared to answer questions from the rest of the class.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Women and Minorities" chapter ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 8—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about women and minorities. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on women and minorities. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Select a group of four or five students to engage in a panel discussion on how changing social, economic, and political conditions require changing interpretations of the Constitution. They will need to plan their discussion and do some research on their topic. See the suggestions for conducting a panel discussion on page 16 in "Instructional Strategies" in this guide.

2. Invite a speaker from the Gray Panthers, LaRaza, the NAACP, or other minority advocacy groups to discuss with your class how federal actions have benefited their group and why such actions were necessary. Have students prepare questions prior to the presentation.

Poverty

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Explain why various age and income groups often disagree on the role government should play in alleviating poverty.
2. Analyze the relationship between entitlement programs and the budget deficit.
3. Identify and define key terms and programs related to poverty.

Activities

1. Tell students that they are going to participate in a Senate hearing on domestic social problems. Some students will form a Senate committee, while the rest will represent a variety of interest groups expressing opinions about the following policies before the committee:

- The government should limit welfare benefits to two years.
- The government should offer financial assistance to the working poor.
- The government should provide funds to expand enterprise zones in areas where unemployment and poverty are high.

Divide students into the Senate committee and the following fictional special interest groups:

- National Association of Single Parents
- United New Business Owners Association
- Society of Urban Dwellers
- United Parents of College Students
- United States Taxpayers Association
- American Association for Minimum Wage Earners

Allow some time for the groups to prepare their statements about the three issues. Each should decide what policies are best for its members and prepare its statement accordingly. Then, have each group appear separately before the Senate committee to present its views. After presenting its statement, each group should be questioned by members of the Senate committee. The committee should prepare questions related to the issues at hand.

After all groups have presented their views and been questioned by the committee, lead a class discussion about the hearing. Ask the class to discuss the best pro and con arguments and supporting data for each of the three issues. If they were senators, how would they vote on each issue and why? What has this simulation taught them about why the political system often has difficulty establishing and funding social programs?

Terms and Concepts

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
- cost-of-living adjustments (COLA)
- Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
- earned-income tax credit (EITC)
- enterprise zones
- entitlement programs
- food stamps
- Great Society
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- New Deal
- Social Security
- supplementary security income
- Works Progress Administration

Focus Skill: Supporting Generalizations

Generalizations—common statements that imply that something is true—need to be supported by evidence. One purpose of this activity is to allow students to find information that supports or refutes generalizations.

2. Write the following question on the board: What is a generalization? Then, ask students to respond to it. Explain that if there are no supporting facts, a generalization is not correct. After a brief discussion, distribute **Student Handout 9—Supporting Generalizations with Facts.** Make sure all students understand the instructions on the handout. Allow them time to work on the task in class, or assign it as homework.

Next, review student responses to the items on the handout. Try to ensure that both sides of each argument are equally represented. While responses will vary, some possible answers include the following:

1. Agree: Social programs account for a large slice of the federal budget pie. During a recession and at a time when the nation faces a huge budget deficit, the government cannot expand social services.

   Disagree: Nothing is more important than the welfare of Americans. The money is there to maintain or expand programs, but it is spent on the wrong things, such as defense.
2. Agree: The federal government should invest in tax-free enterprise zones to improve the economy of economically depressed areas.

   Disagree: The federal government should not invest huge sums of money to establish tax-free enterprise zones that are doomed to fail.
3. Agree: Despite nearly sixty years of government social programs, millions of people still live in poverty. Programs like AFDC provide reduced benefits to the working poor, thus discouraging welfare recipients from seeking work.

   Disagree: Most AFDC recipients are single mothers who support themselves and their children almost entirely through the welfare system. If it were not for public housing, even more people would be homeless.

LRL **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the issues raised in the "Poverty" chapter, have them complete **Student Handout 10—Learning New Information.** You may wish to have students complete the assignment individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about poverty. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on social programs. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students call or visit their local welfare or state employment office to find out basic information on the qualifications and procedures for applying for an entitlement program. Programs to consider for this project include:

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
- food stamps
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- public housing
- Supplemental Security Income (SSI)

If possible, students should get an application form and interview a welfare or employment office worker about the application process. How would they feel if they were really applying for this program? Do they think benefits should be easier or harder to get? What was their general impression of the process?

2. Ask students to conduct an informal poll posing one of the following questions to a cross section of members of the community:

- What is your opinion of the government giving a tax refund for workers whose family income falls below the poverty level?
- What is your opinion of limiting AFDC payments to a fixed time period?

Care should be taken to include several different age groups in the poll, ranging from teenagers to retired people. Have students write up the results of the poll, creating a table or graph to better illustrate their findings. Some direct quotes from survey participants should be included.

3. Have students research the problems associated with welfare and welfare reform and then draw up their own welfare reform proposal. If a welfare reform bill has recently passed Congress, ask students to evaluate its strengths and weaknesses and compare it with their own proposals.

Health Care

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Describe the reasons for rapidly rising health care costs.
2. Examine why specific special interest groups supported or opposed President Clinton's Health Security Act.
3. Explain the personal importance of the health care issue.
4. Identify and define key terms related to the health care issue.

Activities

1. Distribute **Student Handout 11—Student Survey.** Have students mark each statement true or false. Point out that this is a survey measuring perception rather than a test measuring factual knowledge. When everyone is done, consider each item individually, polling the students on whether they think the statement is true or false. Encourage students to explain their answers, drawing from their own experiences if possible. After the discussion, explain to the class that **all the statements are true.**

Next, have students read the introduction to the "Health Care" chapter in *Current Issues*. Discuss with them the reasons for rapidly rising health care costs. Broaden the discussion by asking them how people can cope with this problem. Point out that most Americans are covered by private health insurance and that medical insurance is a common fringe benefit for employees, yet nearly 37 million Americans have no health insurance. Ask students to think of ways in which America's health care problems might affect them personally. List their responses on the board and discuss why they are important. Responses may include such concerns as increased taxes, family stresses caused by health care expenses, or reductions in other government services that provide benefits such as student loans.

2. Early in his term, President Clinton proposed his Health Security Act which would provide health insurance to all Americans. However, several special interest groups opposed his plan. Polls showed that middle class Americans with health insurance feared reduced benefits and increased costs. (You may wish to remind students of the Health Insurance Association of America's successful ad campaign, which featured a middle-class couple, Harry and Louise, who questioned whether they would be able to keep their personal physician and what services would be covered.) Assign two or three students to research and present the perspective of the following groups to the class:

- public hospital administrators
- older Americans
- middle-class Americans with insurance

Terms and Concepts

- acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS)
- deductible
- Health Security Act
- human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)
- managed competition
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- national health insurance
- universal coverage

Focus Skill: Researching a Position

One purpose of this activity is to have students research and then advocate a position. By taking on different roles of special interest groups, students will see firsthand why instituting reform is difficult.

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- part-time employees without medical insurance as part of their employee benefits
- Americans with disabilities
- private insurance companies
- small business owners

Using newspapers and journals, have students research how their assigned group reacted to the Clinton proposal. Why did their group support or oppose Clinton's plan? What did their group want from a health care plan? What did their group lobby against? Have each group state the argument for their special interest group. Encourage students to point out conflicts that their special interest group will have with other special interest groups. After all groups have had an opportunity to present their side, ask students to develop a policy that they think would best protect the interests of all citizens.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Health Care" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 12—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about health care. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to expand your unit on health care in the United States. You may find them valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. If possible, have students invite parents, grandparents, physicians, and insurance brokers to sit on a panel discussing health issues. Students should prepare questions regarding Medicare, Medicaid, and other types of health insurance. Questions can range from the technical to personal experiences with health costs and medical care. Select one group of students to compile and edit questions submitted by the class and another to ask questions of the panel. If possible, students should make most of the arrangements.

2. President Harry Truman believed that "financial means should not determine the quality and quantity of medical services a citizen receives." Does income affect the quality of health care that citizens receive in the United States today? Ask students to write an essay of about 500 words reacting to President Truman's statement. If time permits, have students share their essays with the class.

Immigration

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Discuss which people can be called Americans and why.
2. Evaluate government policies toward immigrants.
3. Assume the role of an economic refugee.
4. Develop and defend an immigration policy of their own.

Terms and Concepts

- amnesty
- assimilation
- bilingual education
- displaced person
- economic refugee
- employer sanctions
- illegal alien
- immigrant
- political refugee
- Proposition 187
- quotas

Activities

1. To introduce the study of immigration, write the following questions on the board and have students share their responses:

- Who is an American?
- Are some people more American than others?

In the ensuing discussion, students may make ethnocentric or stereotypical statements, especially in response to the second question. Identify such statements. Ask students what negative consequences might result when certain people think that they are more American than other people. How might the community be affected by these consequences?

Emphasize the following points:

- An American is any inhabitant of North or South America.
- A U.S. citizen is anyone who was born in the United States, born of a U.S. citizen, or naturalized.
- Every nonnaturalized citizen is a descendant of an immigrant.
- American Indians, although often called "Native Americans," are descendants of people who probably came over the Bering Strait from Asia thousands of years ago.
- More than 50 million people have immigrated to the United States.

To conclude the activity, discuss key questions from "Immigration" in *Current Issues*.

Focus Skill: Working in Groups

The purpose of this activity is to allow students, working in small groups, to make a collective decision based on facts but requiring judgment.

2. Divide the class into groups of no more than five students. Distribute **Student Handout 13—Immigration Candidates.** Briefly review the instructions. Tell students that their groups have fifteen minutes to decide which if any of the candidates should be admitted to the United States.

Then, discuss student responses. Encourage them to explain their choices and tell which subjects caused the most division among the group members. Next, broaden the discussion by asking why immigrants come to the United States. Point out that most reasons can be classified into four categories: political, economic, religious, or to reunite families.

Explain that the present law sets up a system of preferences. First priority is given to family members of U.S. citizens, followed by family members of lawfully admitted aliens. Third priority is given to members of professions in the arts and sciences. Last, priority is given to skilled and unskilled workers who fill a labor shortage in the United States. Ask the class, "Does this preference system force you to change your decisions about who should be allowed in and who should be denied entrance?"

Bring the discussion to a close by asking students to write a paragraph responding to the following: "Is there a contradiction between the U.S. symbol of immigration, the Statue of Liberty, and the practice of limiting the number of immigrants? Should immigration be restricted? Why or why not?" You may want to ask students to hand in their paragraphs or read them aloud in class.

★LRL **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Immigration" chapter ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 14—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about immigration. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on immigration. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. To prepare for a mock hearing of a Presidential Immigration Commission, divide the class into the following seven groups:

- California farmers
- border patrol officers
- employers of illegal aliens
- labor unions
- immigrants legally residing in the United States
- public officials of a U.S.-Mexican border city
- the Presidential Immigration Commission

The group representing the Presidential Immigration Commission should prepare by studying current immigration laws and discussing the procedures they will use in the hearing. Meanwhile, using information from *Current Issues* and other sources, the other six groups should do the following:

- Identify their interests in, and concerns with, current immigration laws.
- Develop arguments supporting the interests they have identified.
- Collect evidence supporting their arguments.
- Identify areas where they may be willing to negotiate and compromise.
- Speculate on arguments that their opponents may use and develop a response to each argument.

When the groups have completed their work, conduct a hearing by the Presidential Immigration Commission. The commission's job is to develop a federal immigration policy to recommend to the president and Congress. The commission should attempt to draft a policy that satisfies—or is at least an acceptable compromise for—everyone. Emphasize to students that all sides may have to sacrifice some policies to get others they believe are more important. The commission should be familiar enough with current immigration legislation to make accurate recommendations. After each group has presented its position before the commission and all sides have had a chance to negotiate, the commission should come up with a final recommendation.

After the commission has presented its recommendation, ask students to abandon the identities they had in their groups and discuss the issues from their personal perspectives. They should refer to the pro/con positions they developed earlier. Has this exercise changed their positions? Why or why not? If they think the policy developed by the commission still presents a problem, what solution do they offer? Remind them of the need to satisfy a range of constituencies as represented in the hearing. Finally, compare their solutions with recently enacted immigration laws. What are the similarities and differences?

Conclude with a discussion of what students learned from the mock hearing. Emphasize the difficulty of reaching decisions when many different opinions are held and the value of compromise in a democracy.

2. Invite a recent immigrant to speak to the class. Have students develop questions the day before the interview. Sample questions might include:

- Why did you come to the United States?
- What problems did you face or do you continue to face?
- How are you dealing with these problems?
- Do you believe that the United States is the land of opportunity?
- What has surprised you most about the United States?
- What do you miss most about your native country?
- If you knew then what you know now, would you still have come to the United States?

Energy

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Analyze the interdependent nature of energy policies and the American economy.
2. Survey and discuss community attitudes about energy.
3. Match vocabulary words with appropriate descriptions.
4. Analyze charts and photos.

Terms and Concepts

- alternative energy sources
- Arab Oil Embargo
- CAFE standards
- energy tax
- fossil fuels
- methane
- nonrenewable energy sources
- oil glut
- OPEC
- renewable energy sources
- synthetic fuels
- windfall profits tax

Activities

1. Energy policies affect, and are affected by, economic events. And economic issues are of great concern to politicians. Therefore, it is understandable that politicians examine energy policies to determine what effect such policies will have on the economy. In this activity, students are asked to do the same; they will consider the ramifications of energy-related events on the nation's economy.

Divide the class into seven groups representing

- the oil industry
- the coal industry
- the automobile industry
- alternative energy industries (hydroelectricity, solar power, wind power)
- consumers
- foreign trade interests
- environmental interests

Focus Skill: Analyzing Events

The purpose of this activity is to allow students to analyze—through group cooperation—the effects an energy-related event would likely have on them as representatives of a particular interest group.

After groups have gathered, tell the class that you are going to mention several scenarios. After each, give the groups a few minutes to analyze how that scenario would affect their particular interest group. Their analyses should include both positive and negative effects. When they have discussed the scenario, ask each group to share their conclusions with the whole class. Encourage others to add to any ramifications that the group may have missed. Have students analyze as many of the following scenarios as time allows:

- Oil prices climb sharply.
- The government loosens pollution standards for U.S. industries and automobiles.
- War breaks out in the Middle East.
- Oil prices decrease drastically.
- A German company develops an inexpensive synthetic fuel.
- A major oil spill occurs off the coast of San Francisco.

2. Distribute **Student Handout 15—Energy Survey** and ask students to survey at least five people over the age of 35 and five people under the age of 35.

When students have completed their surveys, have them tally the responses for each question. Are they surprised by the results of the survey? Discuss what the survey reveals about people's knowledge of energy issues. Are there significant differences between the opinions of older and younger people? Expand the activity by having interested students write an article for the school or community newspaper based on the results of the class survey.

LRL **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "Energy," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 16—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about energy in America. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on energy. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Write the following quote on the board:

> "The challenge for U.S. energy policy in the next century will be to ensure stable supplies of energy at the lowest price possible."

Then, in an essay, have students predict how their descendants will go about meeting this challenge in 2095. What will their lives be like? How will they obtain their energy? What will it be used for? Encourage students to use their imaginations when writing this essay.

2. Ask students to write to their U.S. representative and senators to find out their positions on specific energy issues. Encourage students to let their government representatives know what they think about energy issues. Invite local politicians to speak to the class about their positions on the issues raised in the chapter "Energy." Have students prepare questions to ask the speakers.

Environment

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Identify major types of pollution and their respective sources and effects.
2. Evaluate public policy options such as reducing acid rain and charging polluters for the cleanup of the environment.
3. Discuss steps they can take to protect the environment.
4. Explain how environmental issues are examples of interdependence and individual civic responsibility.
5. Identify consequences of environmental dangers.

Terms and Concepts

- acid rain
- carcinogen
- CFCs
- Earth Summit
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
- global warming
- greenhouse effect
- ozone layer
- recycling
- Superfund
- toxic waste

Activities

1. To introduce the unit, have students look for examples of pollution in their school. Answers might range from graffiti on bathroom walls to litter around the school building. Write their answers on the board and ask students to place items on the list in categories (visual, noise, air, and so forth).

Then ask students to determine the causes of the various types of pollution listed. Causes may include careless students or teachers, cars in the parking lot, improper disposal of trash, and others. Which of the pollutants do they find most offensive? Why? What can be done to stop the polluting?

Next ask students to think about their community. What types of pollution identified on their school list also apply to the community? Are the causes and sources the same? What additional pollutants exist in the community? What are their causes? Which community pollutants concern them most? Is anything being done about pollution levels in the community? If not, why not?

Now, students should think about the larger region in which their community is located. Are there other types of pollution that affect their region that have not already been mentioned? What are their causes? Is anything being done about them? If not, why not?

Finally, ask students to draw tentative conclusions from the discussion. What more would they like to know? Why is the environment an important issue? If students are not familiar with the meanings of the words in the "Terms and Concepts" list, review the meanings with them.

Focus Skill: Analysis

A purpose of the following activity is to allow students to not just identify problems in their school, community, and region, but to then also analyze sources, causes, and solutions to such problems.

2. Have students read the "Background" section in the "Environment" chapter of *Current Issues*. They will need to use this information and the information in the "Major Environmental Laws and Treaties" chart on page 142 to complete **Student Handout 17—Pollution Analysis.** This handout, when completed, will give students an overview of seven major types of pollution, their causes, their effect on the environment, and legislation that deals with each type of pollution. The information on the table will be very useful to the students when they are doing research for other activities related to the environment.

The information in *Current Issues* will furnish most of the information needed to complete the handout, but not all of it. When students have completed as much of the table as they can, divide them into groups of four or five and have each group finish one of the incomplete sections using library resources to find the remaining information. Once the handouts are completed, have each group report its findings to the rest of the class. Ask students to analyze the information on the handouts and answer the following questions:

- Is the world facing an environmental crisis, or have the problems been exaggerated? Why or why not?
- Has legislation been effective in dealing with environmental issues? Should the government take additional action? Why or why not?
- Is today's environment better or worse than it was twenty-five years ago? Explain your answer.
- Would you be willing to pay more for products or pay higher taxes for stricter environmental protection? How might this affect your standard of living?

Use student answers to these questions as a basis for a class discussion.

3. Have the class select one **local** environmental issue they think is most pressing. Students should gather information on this problem. Once they understand the basic problem, they should develop a list of questions they want to ask local politicians, business representatives, and environmentalists about the issue. Then ask students to choose one or more of the following activities:

- Have students write or call offices of their senators and representative. Ask them to find out where these legislators stand on the matter and what they propose as a solution. Legislators will likely make their opinions known over the phone or in follow-up letters.
- If the issue they chose is affected by local businesses, have students contact one or two of the businesses and ask the company or companies to send representatives to talk to the class.
- Have students find out which local environmental groups are active in their area. Is there a branch of the Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, Greenpeace, Defenders of Wildlife, or Friends of the Earth? Students should contact one of the environmental groups and invite a representative to the class to discuss the local issue. Students should prepare questions for the speakers, asking what is their role in the issue, what they suggest should be done, and what has been done.

- Ask interested students to write a letter to the editor of their local or school newspaper explaining how this problem affects the community, both directly and indirectly.

Once students have concluded their research and interviews, have them create a display that is based on the facts they have gathered and the actions they think should be taken.

4. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Environment" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 18—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the environment. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the environment. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Ask students to identify significant environmental problems facing the United States today. Once the list is on the board, have the class rank order the problems. Then, ask each student to take the list—with the order of issues scrambled—and give it to five other people, preferably of different age groups. They should ask each person to rank order the list of problems.

Back in class, collect all the lists, divide them into age groups, and try to determine if there is a pattern to how each age group ranked the problems. Put the resulting lists on the board or on large sheets of paper and hang them on the wall. Did the age groups perceive the significance of environmental concerns differently? Have students speculate as to why this might be. How might age and experience affect one's perceptions? Did any of the rank orderings surprise the class? How might they account for this unexpected ranking? Do any of the rankings indicate lack of information about the issues? Why might this be?

2. Ask students to pretend they are spokespersons for the Clinton administration. A decision has been made to open federal land to energy developers. They should write a letter, which will be placed in a time capsule to be opened in 100 years, explaining this action to future generations.

Constitutional Rights

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Identify the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and Bill of Rights.
2. Understand the role of the Supreme Court in interpreting constitutional issues.
3. Describe due process and identify specific procedural rights included in the Constitution.
4. List and discuss arguments on both sides of a controversial issue.

Terms and Concepts

- Bill of Rights
- *Cruzan v. Director, Missouri Department of Health*
- due process
- exclusionary rule
- Fourteenth Amendment
- James Madison
- *Miranda* ruling
- moment of silence
- passive euthanasia
- *Roe v. Wade*
- search warrant
- *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, Inc.*

Activities

1. Introduce the unit by familiarizing the students with the Bill of Rights. Have students complete **Student Handout 19—Constitutional Amendments** using information provided in *Current Issues*.

Review the handout in class to ensure that students are familiar with the rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court decisions that have affected those rights. Then, use the following questions to lead a discussion about rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

- What does constitutional government mean? What are some characteristics of constitutional government?
- The First Amendment says "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech. . . ." What does this imply? Does the First Amendment grant rights to Americans, or does it protect them from government infringement on their rights?
- Why did some framers of the Constitution believe the rights of citizens had to be protected from the government?
- Do you think the framers meant to absolutely bar any restrictions of speech and press? What kinds of expression do you think may not be protected by the Constitution?
- What procedural rights does an accused person have?
- What does "due process" mean? Who should decide what is fair, the legislature or the courts?

Urge students to read the Bill of Rights and jot down any questions they would like to ask during the study of this unit.

Focus Skill: Group Cooperation

One purpose of this activity is to allow students as a part of a group to answer questions that require outside research and serious thought. Students will have an opportunity to learn to work together, to delegate tasks, and to arrive at a consensus.

2. Divide your class into four groups (if you have more than thirty students, use eight groups) and assign one of the following topics to each group.

- abortion
- the exclusionary rule
- religious activity in public schools
- the right to die

Then, distribute **Student Handout 20—Topic Research** and give students sufficient time to complete the handout. Groups should answer the questions on their handouts as they apply to the topics they were assigned. Remind the students that they will be responsible for reporting back to the entire class. After they have finished with the handout, have each group report its findings to the class and allow the rest of the students to question group members. As the teacher, you may want to play devil's advocate by pressing groups to explain their reasoning. Encourage their classmates to pose tough questions to the presenters.

3. Ask students to define death. Explain that at one time the definition was quite simple—death occurs when breathing and heartbeat cease. Today, however, life can be prolonged by artificial means such as respirators and other machines that can take over for failing human organs. Is the right to die a constitutional right? Should the government extend its control to this aspect of life? Draw a parallel between the right to die, abortion, and the death penalty. Lead a discussion about issues raised by government's role in right to die, abortion, and death penalty issues. Ask students to define human life. When do they think human life ends? Are there any times when taking human life is justified?

You might want to have interested students research the cases of Karen Ann Quinlan and Nancy Beth Cruzan and write an essay on what policy they favor regarding the right to die. The essays should address euthanasia.

4. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Constitutional Rights" chapter ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 21—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about constitutional rights. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on constitutional rights. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. The role of the Supreme Court in interpreting the Bill of Rights is vitally important. Have students research key cases in which the Court has addressed constitutional rights. Listed below are some suggestions for research:

Cases dealing with freedom of belief:
- *School District of Abington v. Schempp* (1963)
- *Welsh v. United States* (1970)
- *Wallace v. Jaffree* (1985)

Cases dealing with freedom of expression:
- *New York Times v. United States* (1971)
- *Miller v. California* (1973)
- *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988)
- *Texas v. Johnson* (1989)

Cases dealing with rights of the accused:
- *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963)
- *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966)
- *In re Gault* (1967)
- *United States v. Garrison* (1984)
- *Maryland v. Garrison* (1987)
- *United States v. Salerno* (1987)

2. One way of teaching students to appreciate the freedoms enjoyed by Americans is to have them compare civil liberties in the United States with civil liberties in other countries. Assign various countries to interested students and have them report back to the class. It may be interesting for them to report on rights in nations such as Canada, China, Cuba, Iran, and Russia.

Crime and Drugs

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Examine possible factors responsible for the rising crime rate in the United States.
2. Separate fact and opinion.
3. Survey community attitudes about crime and drugs.
4. Analyze graphs and charts.

Terms and Concepts

- Brady bill
- drug traffickers
- gun control
- prevention
- Second Amendment
- "three strikes and you're out"
- mandatory sentencing
- Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

Activities

1. Begin by telling students that you are going to read several statements relating to the issues of crime and illegal drug use in the United States, and that after each statement is read they are going to move to one side of the room or the other, depending on whether they think the statement is fact or opinion. Students who think the statement is a fact should line up on the left side of the room; students who think the statement is an opinion should line up on the right side. Begin with the first statement on the following list:

- Violent crime in the United States has risen nearly 20 percent since 1988. (fact)
- The illegal drug trade encourages violence and crime in U.S. cities. (opinion)
- The roots of crime are unemployment and poverty. (opinion)
- Of every 1,000 people arrested for violent crimes, only 350 are ever sent to prison. (fact)
- Drug use is declining in the United States. (opinion or fact)
- The only way violent crime in the United States can be curbed is by limiting or banning handgun possession. (opinion)
- The majority of Americans polled on the matter believe that the government should fight crime by getting tougher on criminals. (fact)
- Drug abuse is a problem only for young, low-income, and minority Americans. (opinion)
- A high percentage of people in prison are guilty of drug-related crimes. (fact)
- The United States should follow the example set by the failure of Prohibition and legalize all drugs. (opinion)
- Most federal crime legislation passed during the 1980s and 1990s emphasizes enforcement and punishment over crime prevention. (fact)

After students react to each statement and both sides have stabilized, ask several students from each side to explain their position. Allow students to interact and ask questions of each other, but remind them that this is a discussion and an opportunity for you to determine what previous knowledge they have about the topic.

When all statements have been read, discuss how they can tell if a statement is a fact or an opinion. (Facts are based on supportive numbers, statistics, or documented evidence; opinions are based on a belief, an interpretation, or an impression.)

Conclude by reading each statement again and asking students to identify the specific information or words that distinguish it as fact or opinion.

Focus Skill: Conducting a Survey

This activity asks students to conduct a community survey. They will ask men and women outside of school to agree or disagree with ten statements about crime and drugs.

2. After students have read "Crime and Drugs," tell them that they are going to find out how members of their community feel about crime. Distribute copies of **Student Handout 22—Community Crime Survey** to each member of the class. Then, have each student survey five people who live in their community. They should mark all five respondents' answers on one copy of the handout.

After students have completed the survey, bring them back together and tally the results on the board. Do the results of the survey show any clear attitudes about crime or drugs in your community? Discuss each item and why students think people responded as they did. Pay particular attention to items on which respondents were clearly divided. Ask class members if they think the gender, income, education, and religion of respondents had any bearing on the outcome.

You might want follow up this activity by asking the school or community newspapers to publish the results. Perhaps your students could write letters to the editor to accompany the results of the survey.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Crime and Drugs" chapter ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 23—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about crime and drugs. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on crime and drugs. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students research crime statistics in your city and/or state. They should go to local police departments or read court records to find out the number of arrests and convictions for violent crimes for the most recent year or two years. They should also attempt to find out how many of those arrests and convictions were drug related. Ask them to compare the most recent statistics with earlier years and conclude whether or not violent crime is rising or falling.

2. Invite speakers to class to talk to your students about gun control. Ask a representative from each side of the issue to state why he or she is for or against stiffer gun control laws. Likely speakers would come from groups such as the National Rifle Association, Handgun Control, Inc., police departments, shooting clubs, and other organizations that have taken a stand on the issue. It may also be interesting to invite a constitutional lawyer to address the issue from the perspective of the Second Amendment. To help your students better understand the issue of gun control, you may want to obtain from Close Up Publishing a copy of the videotape *To Keep and Bear Arms: Gun Control and the Second Amendment.*

Lesson Plans

Foreign Policy Issues

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Russia

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Describe U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Russian relations since 1945 and the effect of ideology on those relations.
2. Discuss the relationship of location and geography to the history of U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Russian relations.
3. Match names and accomplishments of prominent leaders.
4. Analyze maps, cartoons, and photos.

Terms and Concepts

- Cold War
- Commonwealth of Independent States
- containment
- detente
- domino theory
- economic "shock therapy"
- free-market economy
- Helsinki Accords
- hyperinflation
- INF Treaty
- national referendum
- NATO
- privatization
- SALT I
- SALT II
- START
- Warsaw Pact

Activities

1. To introduce this unit, ask students in a brainstorming session to call out words or short phrases they think describe today's Russia. Write their responses on the board. Then, do the same exercise asking students to come up with words or phrases describing the old Soviet Union. Write these responses on the board as well.

Next, ask the class to indicate with a show of hands whether they think each word or phrase in the first list has a negative, positive, or neutral connotation. After you tally the votes, mark each word with a plus sign for positive, a minus sign for negative, or a zero for neutral. Total the pluses and minuses and compare them. Do the same with the second list. How do the responses on the two lists compare? What are the implications of the differences in the two lists? Where did students get their images of Russia and the other republics? Where did they get their images of the old Soviet Union?

2. Display a large wall map of the world and compare the locations of the United States and Russia. Discuss locations in relation to latitude and longitude and bordering nations. Then, ask the class what effects location may have had on the history of the two countries and their past relationship with each other. Which nation probably has had the greatest concerns about security? Why? Briefly summarize Russian and Soviet history, emphasizing their vulnerability from both east and west and war losses in this century. Ask students how the location and history of the old Soviet Union might have influenced its leaders. Emphasize the sheer size of Russia compared to the United States. Compare the neighboring countries of the United States and Russia. Discuss the potential hostilities that may occur or have already occurred within Russia and among several of the former Soviet republics. Also point out probable differences in climate and access to oceans and seas.

Focus Skill: Map Interpretation

One purpose of this activity is to help students locate and interpret information on a map and understand how such information can be useful in studying history, government, and international relations.

3. Have students read "Background" in "Russia" and complete the timeline exercise on **Student Handout 24—Events in U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Russian History.** They should also rate each five-year period according to degrees of positive relationship or negative relationship between the two countries.

When students have had sufficient time to complete the handout, discuss the events they selected. Point out any important omissions. Then, total the scores for their ratings, write them on the board, and talk about them. Urge students to explain their ratings. If there are major discrepancies among ratings, find out why. Discuss which incidents were most significant and why, and what effect those incidents had on U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Russian relations.

After the important events have been identified, pair up students and have each pair select one event. One student in each pair should then write a newspaper article for *The Washington Post* presenting the U.S. position on the event at the time it happened. The other student should write an article for *Pravda* presenting the Soviet or Russian position. Then, ask the pairs to alternate reading their articles in class. Compare each pair of stories. How are they similar? How are they different? What do these similarities and differences suggest about how perspective can influence interpretations of facts? What implications do such interpretations have for international relations?

LRL **4.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "Russia," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 25—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about Russia. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Russia. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Over an extended period of time (perhaps a quarter or semester), have students collect newspaper and magazine articles about events in Russia and its relationship with the United States. Students should pick specific topics to investigate, such as U.S. aid to Russia, ethnic unrest, successes and failures of political and economic reforms in the new governments, arms and troop reductions, and so forth. Pin the articles to a bulletin board under appropriate headings and urge the class to review them every day. Near the end of the collection period, discuss the progression of the news stories and editorials. Have they changed in any way? How have they changed? Is reform moving ahead or falling flat?

2. Have students speculate about the future of U.S. relations with Russia by writing a report on what they think those relations will be like in 2000, 2025, and 2050. They should write one paragraph about each year. After the reports are complete, ask students to read them aloud in class. Discuss the reports and ask the writers how they arrived at their conclusions and opinions. Do they see relations generally improving or deteriorating? What future do they see for Boris Yeltsin? For the Commonwealth of Independent States? Do they think economic and democratic reforms will continue to proceed in Russia? Will improved relations between the world's major nuclear powers lead to nuclear disarmament?

Defense

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Define national security.
2. Compare and contrast views on national security issues.
3. Evaluate the current defense policies of the United States.
4. Draw conclusions about reading sections in *Current Issues*.
5. Analyze a chart.

Terms and Concepts

- "global police force"
- multinational peacekeeping
- NATO
- NATO partnerships
- national security
- readiness
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- War Powers Resolution

Activities

1. Begin by asking students to pretend that they are responsible for the defense of a nation. Without giving them any more information, ask them what strategies they would use to defend their country. Categorize student responses and write them on the board. Likely categories include:

- build up arms—prepare for war
- use offensive tactics—"get them before they get us"
- negotiate treaties
- disarm—become neutral and nonthreatening
- develop defense fortifications

Point out that defending a nation is only one aspect of national security. Emphasize that national security is a complex concept with many facets.

Next, distribute **Student Handout 26—Defense Survey.** Allow students a few minutes to complete the questionnaire. When everyone is finished, encourage students to share their responses. This activity should get students to think about national security issues. The success of the activity depends very much on the debriefing. Try to bring out the following points and ask these questions.

- Military strength does not ensure success. (United States in Vietnam, Soviet Union in Afghanistan)
- National security interests of the oil-producing nations may be at odds with the interests of the United States.
- Should U.S. troops get involved in UN peacekeeping missions if U.S. national interest is not an issue? Should Americans care about peace in places like Rwanda?
- If economic warfare is a greater threat to national security, how can the United States best combat this threat? Which country today poses the biggest economic threat to American security?

- Should some of the financial resources of the United States be shifted from the military budget to support democratic movements around the world? Should domestic programs be cut to provide increased funds for foreign aid?

Conclude by asking students to reevaluate their ideas about national security. Have any of them changed their strategies as a result of this activity? They should recognize that national security means protection of vital economic and political interests as well as defense of the nation's borders.

Focus Skill: Preparing Pro/Con Arguments

This activity will allow students to prepare oral arguments both favoring and opposing a proposal.

2. Divide the class into five groups. Assign one of the following topics to each group:

- decreasing defense spending
- reducing U.S. commitment to the defense of western Europe, Japan, and South Korea
- using the U.S. military to police conflicts in troubled areas
- closing U.S. military bases around the country
- allowing women to serve in combat roles

Each group's task is to prepare brief (three- to five-minute) arguments both for and against each issue. Have them present these arguments to the class. Tell the class they will secretly vote on each issue at the end of each group's presentation. No class discussion will be allowed until all the ballots are in, since judgments and criticisms could affect student voting.

Students will vote with paper ballots. The votes will be tallied and listed on the board, so students can see how their class voted on the issues without peer pressure.

You may need to help the groups prepare their oral arguments to ensure a balance of views for each side. Once the votes are tallied, have students discuss the results on each issue. Do any of the results surprise them? Do they think results would be different if the voting had not been confidential? Why or why not?

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "Defense," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 27—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about U.S. defense policies. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on defense. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Students should take on the role of a presidential candidate. Have them prepare a campaign speech in which they address three defense-related issues:

- making deeper cuts in the U.S. defense budget
- using U.S. troops to police conflicts in troubled areas
- determining whether Congress or the president should make the final decision about where and how the U.S. troops are used

Have students write rough drafts of their speeches and hand them in. Select the best three or four for oral presentation.

2. Have students interview at least five friends (preferably from outside class) concerning their opinions about serving in the military. They might ask about mandatory service, voluntary service, college scholarships, retirement benefits, women in combat, and homosexuals in the military. Ask them to write a news article titled "Students Offer Opinions About the Military," based on what they found out in their interviews and in their readings in *Current Issues* and other sources. The goal is to incorporate fact and opinion in one article. The most thorough and well-written articles can be submitted to the school or community newspaper.

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Latin America

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast the United States and Latin America.
2. Identify ways in which cultural misunderstandings and intolerance can be resolved.
3. Discuss current U.S. military, political, and economic policies in Latin America.
4. Identify Latin American leaders and define key vocabulary words.

Terms and Concepts

- Fidel Castro
- Violeta Chamorro
- *contras*
- Cuban missile crisis
- FMLN
- Medellín drug cartel
- Monroe Doctrine
- North American Free Trade Agreement
- Reagan Doctrine
- Sandinistas
- Ernesto Zedillo

Activities

1. Write the names of the following Latin American countries on one end of the board (Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, and Colombia) and "the United States" on the other end. Tell students they are going to brainstorm their impressions of each country. Begin with each Latin American country listed. Ask students to call out words or short phrases that come to mind when they think about each of these countries. List their responses. Now ask the students to compare these four Latin American countries with each other. Circle the similarities among them. Then, write down words or phrases that the students say come to mind when they think of the United States. After brainstorming for five to ten minutes, lead a discussion comparing the countries of Latin America with the United States. What similarities are there? Differences? Do the Latin American countries appear to be quite different from the United States? Point out inaccurate student responses in the lists and discuss why they were mentioned. Conclude by discussing why it is important for these two regions to cooperate politically and economically.

2. Mexico and the United States share a 2,000-mile border, yet there is a great deal of misunderstanding on both sides. Alan Riding, author of *Distant Neighbors: A Portrait of the Mexicans,* has written that "probably nowhere in the world do two neighbors understand each other so little." Mexican Americans often find themselves torn, as though they have one foot in one culture and one in the other.

Distribute **Student Handout 28—A Plea for More Understanding.** Allow students time to read the essay. Then, discuss the following key issues raised by the author:

- Americans tend to stereotype Mexicans.
- Americans know little about Mexican culture.
- There are many aspects of Mexican culture that Americans might emulate.

This activity presents a good opportunity for minority students to air their opinions. Do any of them feel like the author of the article? What other difficulties do minorities have that were not mentioned?

Broaden the discussion by asking whether the three key issues raised by the author are true. Do Mexicans and Americans tend to stereotype each other? Do Mexicans and Americans know little about each other's culture? Are there any aspects of American culture that Mexicans might emulate, or vice versa? Conclude by having each student write a paragraph that begins: "The best way to resolve differences between Mexican Americans and other Americans is . . ."

Focus Skill: Debating

The purpose of this activity is to give students the opportunity to participate in a debate. They will learn to gather information, develop arguments, and present their case before the rest of the class in the proper debate format. You might want to refer to "The Debate" section of "Instructional Strategies" on page 15 of this guide for additional information.

3. Organize classroom debates around questions of U.S. relations in Latin America. Topics are:

- Resolved: The United States should lift the economic embargo against Cuba.
- Resolved: A U.S.-Latin American free-trade zone should be established.
- Resolved: The United States should use military force to promote democracy in Latin America.

Depending on available time, you will have to decide how many debates to hold. If time does not allow all students to participate in a debate, you might want to assign them to be judges, timekeepers, or moderators.

Alternate pro and con speakers, give each speaker a set length of time, and allow rebuttal arguments after all speakers have presented their arguments. When each debate is finished, ask the assigned judges and/or the class to choose which side they thought was most convincing and tell why.

LRL **4.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Latin America" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 29—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion on Latin America. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activity

Use the following activity to enrich your unit on Latin America. You may find the activity valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students speculate about the future of U.S.-Latin American relations. Ask them to write an essay on what they think relations will be like in 2050. Will the relationship improve or deteriorate? Will free trade expand to the entire Western Hemisphere, or will countries become more protectionist and nationalistic? Have students read their essays in class. Is the class optimistic or pessimistic about future U.S.–Latin American relations?

The Middle East

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast proposals for peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
2. Discuss possible U.S. foreign policy toward Iraq based on historical research.
3. Analyze maps and a cartoon.
4. Interpret a time line.

Terms and Concepts

- Balfour Declaration
- Camp David Accords
- Gaza Strip
- Golan Heights
- Hamas
- Holocaust
- *intifada*
- Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)
- Palestine Mandate
- Persian Gulf War
- UN Resolutions 242 and 338
- West Bank
- Zionism

Activities

1. Tell the class that they are a group of Middle East experts employed by the U.S. Department of State. The Clinton administration has decided that the United States must keep pressure on all sides to bring peace to the region. Divide students into groups of seven with each person in the group representing one of the following interested parties: Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the PLO, Palestinians who reject PLO leadership, Syria, and the United States.

Students should use *Current Issues* and other sources to first complete **Student Handout 30—Mideast Peace Proposals.** To represent accurately the views of the various nations and interest groups, students will need time and access to a range of resources on the topic. After students have gathered sufficient information to represent their nation or interest group adequately, each group should meet to come up with a peace plan that it thinks is fair to all parties and has some hope of being accepted by the major players. Because it is unlikely that everyone will agree, the students will need to compromise and try to reduce the opposition. As part of its peace plan, each group must make recommendations about the following:

- The United States should support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.
- The United States should insist that Israel return the Golan Heights.
- The United States should support UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

The UN resolutions might be a good starting point for group meetings. A careful analysis of each group's response to those resolutions may serve to lay the foundation for their peace plan. Because of the constantly changing positions of the interested parties, it is critical that students examine not only background information, but current resources as well. Suggest available resources and ask students where they think they might find them. When each group has what it believes is an acceptable plan for bringing peace to the region, it should present its plan to the rest of the class.

Focus Skill: Developing and Defending a Position

This activity will allow students the opportunity to find and weigh evidence, develop a position, and defend that position while at the same time attempting to arrive at a compromise.

Conclude by discussing the problems and proposals of each group. Discuss the problems for U.S. policymakers presented by the situation in the Middle East.

2. Tell students that they are going to conduct historical research about Iraq and U.S.-Iraqi relations, and then develop a recommendation to the Clinton administration. Divide students into groups of four. Each group should divide research tasks as it develops its policy recommendation. Each student in the group should find information and prepare a briefing sheet for other group members about one of the following topics:

- the creation of modern Iraq under Saddam Hussein
- the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-88
- the Persian Gulf War of 1990-91
- Iraqi actions since the Persian Gulf War

Students can use available information in "The Middle East" in *Current Issues,* as well as from outside sources. Emphasize that their research does not have to be extensive, but that it should be sufficient enough to allow them to make an informed policy recommendation to the president.

After group members have completed their research and prepared their briefing sheets, groups should get together to draw up their recommendations. They may decide to lift the economic embargo and normalize relations with Iraq, to pull away even further from the present Iraqi government, to ask for a meeting with Iraqi leaders to negotiate an agreement, to keep the status quo, or some combination of these actions. After groups have finished, ask one member from each group to present his or her group's recommendation to the class. Urge class members to ask questions of the presenter, to find out how and why his or her group arrived at its recommendation.

LRL **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "The Middle East," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 31—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the Middle East. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the Middle East. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students cite specific examples of how each of the following factors has contributed to a lack of peace in the Middle East:

- religion
- national identity
- revenge
- paranoia
- interference from outside nations
- racism
- oil resources

Ask students to select two of their examples and hypothesize ways that peace might be achieved if those factors could either be limited or used to an advantage. Does it seem realistic that peace will be achieved in the Middle East?

2. Many of the problems of the Middle East, as well as its rich culture, are derived from its diversity. Have interested students make a wall chart of Middle Eastern countries and the ethnic groups that live in them. The chart should include information on religion, language, form of government, resources, per capita income, life span, and birth rates of nationality and ethnic groups. When the chart is complete, ask students how the information they have gathered helps to explain the continuing conflict in the region.

International Trade

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast protectionism and free trade.
2. Evaluate U.S. policy options to reduce the trade deficit by balancing the federal budget, increasing trade barriers, reducing the value of the dollar, and increasing productivity.
3. Analyze a chart and a cartoon.
4. Match numbers and times to information learned from reading the text.

Terms and Concepts

- comparative advantage
- European Economic Community (EC)
- floating exchange rate
- free trade
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
- managed trade
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
- productivity
- protectionism
- quotas
- tariffs
- Trade Act of 1988
- trade deficit
- trade war

Activities

1. Use this activity to discuss costs and benefits of free trade and protectionism. Begin by pointing out to the class that: (1) the way in which a nation views tariffs may depend on how industrialized the nation already is; (2) some nations have used protective trade barriers to help them industrialize; and (3) a highly industrialized country may promote free trade knowing that undeveloped nations can not compete.

Create two columns on the board under the heads **Free Trade** and **Protectionism.** Then, in a class discussion, ask your students to determine the effects of these two policies for each of the following people: (Write responses on the board.)

- a U.S. manufacturer dependent on export sales
- a U.S. manufacturer receiving stiff competition from imported goods
- consumers living in a highly industrialized nation
- an unemployed American worker
- the owner of a technologically new industry with limited financial resources

Conclude by pointing out that because of the economic diversity of the United States, neither a completely free-trade nor a protectionist policy will satisfy all sectors of the nation. When the complexities of international affairs are added, easy solutions are invariably inadequate.

Focus Skill: Supporting a Position

The purpose of this activity is to give students the opportunity to determine costs and benefits of a certain position, weigh the two, and then recommend or reject that position based on their findings.

2. Inform students that they have just been appointed to the president's Council of Economic Advisers. The president has warned them that the continuing high trade deficit threatens the economic well-being of the nation. Jobs are being lost, tax revenues are decreasing, and the economy is being threatened. Students are to find the best solution. The president has identified four possible routes for addressing the problem. He wants his "advisers" to investigate each of the four; however, he does not want them to act as an advocate for any particular one.

Rather, they are to investigate the costs and benefits associated with implementing each approach, and report their findings to the president and the rest of the class.

Distribute **Student Handout 32—Fact-Finding Sheet.** Then, divide the class into three groups, each investigating one of the following:

- balancing the federal budget
- instituting protectionist measures
- helping U.S. industry increase productivity

Each group should divide in half with one half looking for strengths of the approach and the other half looking for its weaknesses. Remind students that the purpose is not to convince other group members that their position is the right one, but simply to gather as much information as possible to present to the group. Urge them to use the student handout to help them complete their tasks. After groups have completed their research, each should come up with specific policies based on their findings. Each group should then take its turn presenting its findings and recommendations to the entire class. They should recommend specific policies—for example, how the government will help industry increase its productivity—and evaluate the usefulness of the policy.

After the four groups have shared their findings with the class, lead a class discussion on the value of each of the approaches. Then, with a show of hands, poll the class on which approach they think will work best.

Conclude by reviewing the strengths and weaknesses of students' suggestions. What were the most important lessons of this unit? Why is international trade a difficult issue to resolve?

LRL **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "International Trade," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 33—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about international trade. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on international trade. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. The president is the individual most able to influence American trade policy. Have students choose one of the following activities:

- Abraham Lincoln supposedly said: "I don't know much about the tariff. But I do know that when I buy a coat from England, I have the coat and England has the money. But when I buy a coat in America, I have the coat and America has the money." Write a hypothetical letter to Lincoln explaining the virtues of free trade and the dangers of protectionism.
- Recent presidents have been strong supporters of free trade. Have students write a letter to President Clinton stating why they think free trade is good or bad for American industry and if he should continue or change his present trade policy. Students may wish to send their letters to the president.

2. Have students use the yellow pages or brainstorm to identify various businesses and industries in your community or state that are affected in any way by international trade. Identify those that are most affected. Invite several of those businesses to send representatives to your class to respond to questions that students have prepared ahead of time and to be part of a panel discussion on the following issues or others suggested by students:

- How does international trade influence your business?
- What do you think will be the long-term impact of the U.S. trade deficit?

Europe

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Examine problems in the former Yugoslavia and speculate on outcomes there.
2. Discuss the issue of U.S. foreign aid in general and aid to eastern Europe specifically.
3. Explain U.S.–European relations past and present.

Terms and Concepts

- buffer zone
- ethnic cleansing
- European Economic Community (EC)
- Fortress Europe
- Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)
- Maastricht Treaty
- Marshall Plan
- nationalism
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Yalta Conference

Activities

1. After students have read the sections about eastern Europe and U.S. aid to the region in the "Europe" chapter of *Current Issues*, spend a few minutes discussing the topic. Ask students to state their impressions of eastern Europe today. What do they think life is like there now? Which countries seem to be making the most social and economic progress? Which countries are making the least progress?

Next, focus the discussion on U.S. foreign aid in general. What do students know about U.S. aid? Where does most of it go? Where do students think U.S. aid should be going? Would it be wise for the United States to send aid to the struggling democracies of eastern Europe? Why or why not?

Finally, after discussing the topic in class, ask students to write a one-page letter to President Clinton urging him either to send or not to send foreign aid to the countries of eastern Europe. Students should begin their letters with a clear statement of the policy they think the United States should assume, and then tell why they believe as they do. Ask for volunteers on both sides of the issue to read their letters in class.

2. Tell the class that they are going to carry out a role-playing activity in which they will attempt to negotiate a peace plan for the warring states of the former Yugoslavia. Divide the class into five groups representing the following:

- Serbs living in Serbia
- Croats living in Croatia
- Muslims living in Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Serbs living in Bosnia-Herzegovina
- United Nations negotiators

Focus Skill: Role-Playing and Negotiation

This activity allows students, working in groups, to play roles of various parties trying to negotiate a peace plan for the former Yugoslavia.

Give each group adequate time to research the history and nature of the trouble in the former Yugoslavia. They should learn more about the people they are representing and the enemies they are fighting, and then develop a plan under which they would agree to stop fighting. The United Nations team should come up with a plan of its own to which it will try to get the four adversaries to agree. When all groups have settled on the plans they will propose, have each group meet individually with the UN team for ten minutes to outline its plan and listen to the UN proposal. After the UN team has heard all four plans, it will then come up with a final peace plan that it thinks is the best compromise. Finally, with all groups present, the UN team will present its peace plan and ask a spokesperson from each of the other four groups to comment on the parts they like and the parts they dislike and tell why.

Debrief by discussing the role-playing results and pointing out how difficult it is to come up with an actual peace plan in the former Yugoslavia given all of the obstacles the class encountered. Ask students to speculate on whether they think any sort of fair and lasting peace will be forthcoming in that part of the world in the near future.

3. For this activity, have students work in pairs. One person will represent the European perspective, the other the American perspective. Give students twenty minutes to meet with their partners to discuss the following issues from both perspectives: (1) whether the United States should send peacekeeping troops to the former Yugoslavia; (2) whether U.S. troops in Europe should be maintained; (3) and whether the United States should send aid to east European countries.

Then, have all the "Europeans" get together in one part of the room and all the "Americans" in another. Both sides should select a secretary to record their "official" reaction to each policy issue. They should consider how each issue has affected them in the past, and how it will affect them in the future. What pleases or angers them about these policies?

Have the two secretaries present their sides' reactions to each issue. Encourage other students to participate by questioning the secretary or by elaborating on what the secretary is saying. This activity should enable students to see the validity of different points of view, and how this can contribute to the complexity of an issue.

4. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Europe" chapter ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 34—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about Europe. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Europe. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Organize classroom debates on the following resolutions:

- The United States should send aid to eastern European countries.
- The United States should continue to defend Europe.
- The United States should send a peacekeeping force to the former Yugoslavia.

Before beginning the debates, allow students adequate time to research their positions and prepare their arguments. The affirmative side should go first, followed by the negative side. Both sides should be given the same amount of time. Allow each side to then present a short rebuttal. After each debate has been completed, ask the remainder of the class which side they think "won." Discuss the strong and weak points of each argument.

2. Have students search magazines and newspapers for articles detailing conflicts between Europe and the United States. They should clip articles about trade differences, defense, aid, and so forth. Have students place these clippings on the bulletin board, highlighting or underlining phrases that point out: (1) the issue being discussed; (2) differences between the United States and the nations of Europe on the issue; and (3) reasons this issue is currently being written about.

Nuclear Proliferation

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Analyze the dangers posed by the proliferation of weapons.
2. Evaluate U.S. policy toward sales of nuclear materials and technology.
3. Express an opinion based on factual and personal information.
4. Interpret a political cartoon and read a bar graph.

Activities

1. Tell students that you are going to read several statements relating to nuclear proliferation and nuclear war. After each statement is read, students will move about the room on a continuum that ranges from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Students who strongly agree with the statement should line up on the far left side of the room. Students who strongly disagree should line up on the far right side of the room. Students who do not have a strong opinion either way should line up in the middle of the room.

After directions are given, read one of the opinion statements and allow time for students to move to a point on the continuum. When the three lines have stabilized, ask several students from each line to explain their positions. Allow students to interact and ask questions of each other, but remind them to respect differing opinions and that this is a discussion, not a debate. After discussing each statement, read the fact statement that follows each opinion statement. Then ask students if they now want to move to another position on the continuum. Move on to the next statement and repeat the process.

Statements:

- Nuclear proliferation is a serious threat to world peace.

  Fact: Today at least five countries have nuclear weapons; ten other countries are suspected of having the capability of making nuclear weapons now or in the near future.

- It is possible for countries like the United States to sell nuclear technology without the threat of an increase in nuclear weapons worldwide.

  Fact: The United Nations created the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to ensure that members do not use nuclear technology to make weapons.

- Treaties are a good way to control the testing, manufacture, and acquisition of nuclear weapons.

  Fact: As many as eight international treaties have been written since 1959. No new nations have admitted developing nuclear weapons since 1964, and India is the only nation outside the "nuclear club" that has exploded an atomic device since then.

Terms and Concepts

- Baruch Plan
- chemical weapons
- conventional weapons
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
- nuclear club
- nuclear nonproliferation
- nuclear technology
- UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

Focus Skill: Expressing an Opinion

The purpose of this activity is to identify the range of student positions on the issues and to determine previous knowledge about the topic. Be sure to remind students that opinions should be backed by factual information.

- The United States should set an example for the world by completely stopping sales of conventional weapons.

  Fact: Many nations besides the United States sell conventional weapons. Sellers depend a great deal on the profits such sales bring.

- Enemy nations who have nuclear weapons would hesitate to use them for fear of nuclear retaliation.

  Fact: The Soviet Union and the United States refrained from military conflict for more than forty years. During the Persian Gulf War, the allied powers and Iraq (which is suspected of having nuclear capabilities) refrained from using nuclear weapons.

2. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Nuclear Proliferation" chapter, have them complete **Student Handout 35—Learning New Information.** You may want them to complete it individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about weapons proliferation. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on weapons proliferation. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Two regions of the world, Latin America and the South Pacific, and some individual cities throughout the world have established "nuclear-free zones." Within these zones, testing, manufacturing, and acquiring nuclear weapons are banned, and nations possessing nuclear weapons have agreed not to bring such weapons into the zones.

Ask students to call local governments to find out if their community or a nearby community is considered a nuclear-free zone. If so, obtain a copy of the statement(s) declaring the community as nuclear-free. If not, divide the class into groups of four or five to write a nuclear-free class statement for your school or community.

Ask groups to read their statements and discuss them. Do all students agree with such statements? What arguments can they give opposing the declaration of nuclear-free zones?

2. Organize one or more debates on the following statements:

- The world's major military powers should restrict and control the proliferation of conventional weapons just as seriously as they have restricted and controlled the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- The United States should stop exporting conventional weapons to unstable parts of the world.

Before beginning the debates, allow students adequate time to research their positions and prepare their arguments. The affirmative side should speak first, followed by the negative side. Both sides should be given the same amount of time. Allow each side to then present a short rebuttal. After each debate has been completed, ask the remainder of the class which side they think "won." Discuss the strong and weak points of each argument.

World Poverty

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Identify characteristics of developing nations.
2. Explain the relationship between foreign aid and American interests.
3. Evaluate U.S. policy options regarding recipients and kinds of foreign aid.
4. Analyze charts and photos.

Activities

1. Use a large world map to point out to students that most of the world's most impoverished nations are south of the Tropic of Cancer. Briefly discuss the terms "North" and "South." Ask why Americans and the U.S. government should have any interest in developing nations. In addition to exploring humanitarian concerns, discuss national security and economic security as factors in U.S. foreign aid politics. Students should consider how terrorism might become a more serious problem as developing countries struggle to develop. What could be the effect of increased terrorism on their development? Ask students to read "World Poverty" in *Current Issues* and jot down questions they would like to have answered in this unit. Have students share their questions with the class to determine common concerns.

2. Tell students that they are going to use a variety of resources to examine U.S. foreign aid policies and economic development in less developed countries (LDCs) and then write a position statement based on their research. First, divide the class in half. One half of the class will represent U.S. government and military officials. The other half will represent government officials from developing nations such as Bangladesh, Chad, Egypt, Haiti, and Peru. Divide each half into three subgroups and assign each subgroup one of the following policy statements:

- The United States should reduce foreign aid.
- Political concerns should determine who receives U.S. aid.
- The United States should promote family planning in LDCs to stop population growth.

Distribute and urge everyone to complete **Student Handout 36—Cost/Benefit Chart** as they complete their assignments. Give students sufficient time to research their topics and prepare position statements with supporting evidence. Each group should be prepared to state its position and answer questions from the rest of the class.

Terms and Concepts

- Agency for International Development (AID)
- bilateral aid
- family planning
- humanitarian assistance
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- less developed countries (LDCs)
- malnutrition
- multilateral aid
- North-South conflict
- security assistance
- World Bank

Focus Skill: Research and Analysis

The purpose of this activity is to allow students to gather pertinent information, analyze that information, and then use it to develop a position statement that they can defend.

The group representing U.S. officials should consider the following questions as it analyzes its information and develops its policy statement:

- What are the costs and benefits of this policy?
- How will U.S. citizens view this policy?
- What conditions should the United States impose for nations receiving aid?
- Should foreign aid decisions be based on the best interest of the United States or of the whole world?
- After deciding the U.S. position, what are the strongest pieces of evidence to support it?

Representatives of developing countries should consider the following questions as they analyze their policy statement:

- Is it reasonable to expect that developed countries with their own poverty problems should expend their resources to help less developed countries?
- What arguments can developing nations offer to counter U.S. policy decisions that may not be in their best interest?
- How would developing nations respond to criticisms that some of the problems they face are a result of a social structure that allows a few people to control most of the wealth and that aid programs simply help those who do not need it?
- Since it is unlikely that U.S. aid will be distributed evenly, what criteria do developing nations suggest for determining who receives it?

After each group has presented and supported its position and responded to questions, conduct a general class discussion. How do students personally feel about the issues? Is there any consensus? Have any changed their minds about foreign aid concerns since the introductory activity?

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "World Poverty," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 37—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about world poverty. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on world poverty. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students investigate conditions (geographic, economic, demographic, political, cultural) that have inhibited the development of the poorest of the world's nations. They should look at countries such as Bangladesh, Burundi, Ethiopia, Haiti, Nepal, and Sudan, and then prepare an essay pointing out the conditions and recommending what type of foreign aid programs they think would best help these nations. They should conclude by speculating on how likely it is that the nation they investigated will receive such aid.

2. Divide students into groups of four or five. This activity should be done in two parts, possibly over two days. The purpose is to encourage students to make some decisions about U.S. foreign aid.

Have students use a world map, *Current Issues,* newspapers, and newsmagazines to compile a list of nations that they think should receive foreign aid from the United States. Particular attention should be paid to countries in Africa, Latin America, Southern Asia, the Middle East, and eastern Europe including the former Soviet republics.

Once each group agrees on its list, ask students to place an "N" before those countries where foreign aid will be based on need, a "P" where it will be based on politics, or an "NP" if both apply.

Then tell groups that they have a total of 100 points to assign as U.S. foreign aid money. Have them decide how many points should be spent for each country on their list. They should use all 100 points. When groups have finished, bring the whole class together and have each group share its choices with the class. Write all the nations selected on the board, tally, and average the points the groups spent on each country. In this way, arrive at a class ranking for foreign aid recommendations. Compare the students' list to actual U.S. foreign aid expenditures, which are detailed on the chart on page 303 in the regular edition of *Current Issues* and page 305 in the lower-reading-level edition.

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Sub-Saharan Africa

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Discuss realities and myths about sub-Saharan Africa.
2. Describe and evaluate U.S. policy toward African countries.
3. Develop a plan for future U.S. involvement in Africa.
4. Define key terms relevant to sub-Saharan Africa.

Terms and Concepts

- African National Congress (ANC)
- apartheid
- colonialism
- economic sanctions
- humanitarianism
- Hutus and Tutsis
- MPLA
- Operation Restore Hope
- UNITA

Activities

1. Introduce the chapter by writing "Africa" on the board and conducting a brainstorming session. Ask students to call out words or short phrases that come to mind when they think about Africa. List their responses. After responses have stopped, point to each word or phrase and ask students if it is negative, positive, or neutral. Label each response with a plus sign for positive, a minus sign for negative, or a star for neutral. Are there more positive or more negative responses? If there are more negative responses, ask the class why they think that happened. Are there any words or phrases that are inaccurate or do not belong on the list? Do students think they know a lot about Africa? If not, why not?

Next, divide the class into three groups representing South Africa, Rwanda, and Somalia and distribute copies of **Student Handout 38—Facts About An African Nation.** Students should individually answer the questions on the handout and write a concluding paragraph about the nation they studied. After completing research, allow students to meet in their groups and clean up any answers they could not find or that are wrong or incomplete.

Conclude by asking one representative from each group to read the answers to the fact questions on the handout. Then ask others in each group to read their concluding paragraphs. Ask students if they now know more about these three countries than they did a few days ago. Do they think sub-Saharan Africa is getting enough attention from the rest of the world? Is Africa getting enough attention from the United States? What should U.S. policies be toward Rwanda, Somalia, and South Africa? Ask them to speculate on what they think future U.S. policies will be toward the nations of sub-Saharan Africa.

Focus Skill: Brainstorming

This activity will allow students to participate in a brainstorming activity. They will see how they can teach their classmates by expressing their thoughts and ideas and learn from the thoughts and ideas of those same classmates.

2. In Somalia, a civil war resulted in a famine in early 1993. In a humanitarian mission, the United States took over the country temporarily to ensure that starving Somalis received food and supplies. After several U.S. soldiers were killed, American troops left Somalia, not wishing to become entangled in another country's civil war.

Lead a discussion about the U.S. position in Somalia. Why did America choose to become involved in Somalia? Do students agree that U.S. involvement in Somalia was appropriate? Critics contend that while the United States provided aid, it did not address the root problems of poverty and tribal tension. What would be the most effective way of helping Somalia now—through military intervention or development projects? Or should the United States not intervene in places like Somalia at all? If students believed in military intervention, how would they define the military's goals? If they proposed development projects, what types of projects would they implement (such as volunteers showing Somalis how to irrigate, produce more crops, and so forth)?

Conclude by having students draw up a proposal for or arguing against aid to Africa, and write an editorial persuasively presenting their position.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Sub-Saharan Africa" chapter, ask them to complete **Student Handout 39—Learning New Information.** You may want students to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about sub-Saharan Africa. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on sub-Saharan Africa. You may find the activities valuable for evaluations, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Provide students with a map of sub-Saharan Africa showing natural resources and the continent's location in relation to the rest of the world. Ask them to examine the map and list the resources and where they are found. They should also think about why the United States might be interested in those resources. Also, tell them to pay attention to sub-Saharan Africa's location and think about why the United States would want friendly and stable nations in the region.

Then, lead a discussion based on the map study. Why are the locations of South Africa and Somalia important for U.S. oil exports from the Middle East? Why would the United States want a friendly and stable government in Sudan, given its location? What resources does sub-Saharan Africa have that the United States needs or wants? What steps, if any, should the U.S. government take to ensure that those resources are always available to other nations?

2. Pair up students in your class and tell them they are going to conduct library research on Africa's colonial past. Remind them that all but three African countries were once controlled by European colonizers and that most did not get their independence until the 1950s and 1960s. They should try to match each of today's African nations with the European country that once controlled it, and then tell what lasting influence that colonization had on the people of both countries. Urge them to look for both benefits and problems of the colonial relationship. They should write a one- or two-page report on their findings and present their report orally in class.

East Asia

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Assess the factors contributing to Japan's economic development since 1945.
2. Evaluate the important role Japan plays in the U.S. economy.
3. Debate U.S. policies toward Japan, China, Korea, and Vietnam.
4. Define key terms relevant to East Asia.

Activities

1. Begin by having students briefly summarize the arguments in *Current Issues* favoring and opposing Japanese investment in the Unted States. Then distribute **Student Handout 40—Cause and Effect.** Allow students enough time to read the handout in class or as a homework assignment. After everyone has read the handout, discuss the reasons given for why Americans are so dependent on the Japanese. Be sure that students understand the cause and effect relationships in item three. Emphasize that policy decisions cannot be made in a vacuum. Every decision has a cost and a consequence.

2. Divide your class into four groups and tell them that each group is going to debate one of the following issues:

- Resolved: The United States should normalize diplomatic relations with Vietnam.
- Resolved: The United States should withdraw its military from Japan.
- Resolved: The United States should link China's most favored nation trade status to its human rights record.
- Resolved: The United States should normalize relations with North Korea.

Each group should be divided into an affirmative team and a negative team. Debaters should use information in the "East Asia" chapter of *Current Issues* as well as outside sources to prepare their arguments.

When all research has been completed, begin the debates. The affirmative side should go first for five to ten minutes, followed by the negative side for five to ten minutes. Each side will then have a short period of time for rebuttal. If you find that too many students are not going to have a chance to speak, you may want several to serve as moderators, timekeepers, and judges.

After each debate, briefly discuss the topic with the whole class and ask students which side they thought was the winner.

Terms and Concepts

- demilitarize
- *Diet*
- human rights
- interdependence
- MFN trade status
- International Atomic Energy Agency
- productivity rate
- Tiananmen Square
- tariff
- trade deficit
- U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty

Focus Skill: Understanding Cause and Effect

An important skill for students to develop is to be able to see and understand the impact government policies will have on the health of the nation and on their own lives. Examining the cause and effect relationship of U.S.-Japanese trade is one way to develop this skill.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "East Asia" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 41—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about East Asia. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

Enrichment Activities

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on East Asia. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students research what Asian companies are operating in your state. A list of foreign-owned firms can be obtained from the regional office of the U.S. Department of Commerce or your state's Department of Commerce. The information gathered by students should include the cities in which these companies are located, the products they make, and the number of workers they employ. Ask the class to evaluate the economic effect of these businesses on the state or community.

2. Ask students to write a case study about a particular Japanese-owned company located in your community or state. The case study should include specifics regarding why the company decided to locate where it did. What problems did the community face when the company decided to locate there? How has the community benefited? How has the company benefited?

Unit Test Materials

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Unit Test

The Federal Government

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The Department of Veterans Affairs is the newest cabinet department.

____ 2. The 104th Congress was controlled by the Democratic Party.

____ 3. Democrats and Republicans generally agree on which federal programs should be expanded and which should be cut.

____ 4. One of the conflicts between the legislative and executive branches in recent years has been over how the government should raise money.

____ 5. The Constitution expressly grants the president the power to declare war.

____ 6. The committee member of the majority party with the most seniority is always chosen to be the committee chair.

____ 7. Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with the approval of the Senate and serve for life.

____ 8. President Reagan had a great effect on the present Supreme Court, having appointed three associate justices and the chief justice.

____ 9. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is responsible for developing a budget that reflects the priorities of the administration.

____ 10. Because of large budget deficits in the last ten years, overall government spending has decreased slightly.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. cabinet

12. majority leaders

13. fiscal year

14. chief justice

15. authorization bill

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Identify three members of the president's cabinet and briefly describe those members' responsibilities.

17. Describe the key steps in the annual budget process.

18. What causes budget deficits?

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Unit Test

The Economy

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. President Reagan's economic plan included decreasing the amount of taxes paid by Americans.

____ 2. Many American firms have moved their factories to other countries to take advantage of lower foreign labor costs.

____ 3. Although the economy grew substantially during most of the 1980s, the national debt soared.

____ 4. President Clinton's deficit reduction plan aimed to balance the budget by 2000.

____ 5. In 1994, the Fed lowered interest rates several times.

____ 6. During periods of high inflation, people are more inclined to save money.

____ 7. President Clinton's 1993 deficit reduction plan called for tax cuts that he believed would stimulate the economy.

____ 8. Inflation is damaging to people on fixed incomes.

____ 9. By the end of 1994, the inflation rate remained high while the unemployment rate had dropped.

____ 10. Federal law now requires an annual balanced budget.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. inflation

12. recession

13. supply-side economics

14. productivity

15. international interdependence

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following:

    a. The government should lower taxes to spur economic growth.

    b. Congress should pass a balanced budget amendment.

    c. The minimum wage should be raised.

17. Who is most likely to be hurt most by inflation? Select one and defend your choice.

    a. a retired couple living on their savings and Social Security
    b. a young couple who just bought a house
    c. a middle-aged couple who own several apartments
    d. a recent college graduate starting to pay off a college loan

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Unit Test

Education

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Local property tax-based funding for education often results in equal educational opportunities between poor and wealthy districts.

____ 2. The federal government was not significantly involved in education until the 1950s and 1960s.

____ 3. Early efforts to integrate schools often depended on court-ordered busing.

____ 4. Including students who have disabilities in regular classes is called desegregation.

____ 5. The greatest share of funding for public schools comes from the national level of government.

____ 6. Test scores show that many American students score lower in math and science than their peers in other industrialized nations.

____ 7. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized federal scholarships for needy college students.

____ 8. During the 1960s, Congress passed laws denying federal aid to school districts that continued segregation.

____ 9. The number of people completing twelve years of school has decreased over the past five years.

____ 10. Supporters of school choice say that the plan will cause good schools to attract more students and bad schools to either get better or close.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. busing

12. desegregation

13. mainstreaming

14. magnet schools

15. school choice

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. List one argument for and one argument against each of the following issues:

    a. setting national education standards

    b. continuing federal loans to college students

    c. allowing parents to choose their children's schools

17. Identify three of the eight national education goals set out in the Goals 2000: Educate America Act.

18. Identify reforms instituted by school districts in response to findings outlined in *A Nation at Risk*.

19. Explain why most communities support decentralized schools.

20. Identify three changes that you think would improve the quality of education in your school and explain how each would improve education.

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Women and Minorities

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. "Jim Crow" laws were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court as early as 1896.

____ 2. The U.S. armed forces have been integrated since the Civil War.

____ 3. The Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that maintaining separate schools for black and white students is unconstitutional.

____ 4. The poll tax was not barred until passage of the Twenty-fourth Amendment.

____ 5. Discrimination in programs receiving federal aid was declared unconstitutional in 1964.

____ 6. Federal law extends civil rights protections to people based on sexual orientation.

____ 7. Women earned the right to vote when the Fifteenth Amendment was passed shortly after the Civil War.

____ 8. Federal law requires that men and women be paid equally for equal work.

____ 9. In 1982, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) guaranteeing equal rights for women was added to the Constitution.

____ 10. Federal law bans the military from discharging a soldier for homosexual conduct.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. segregation

12. affirmative action

13. suffragists

14. Civil Rights Act of 1964

15. comparable worth

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following:

    a. The government should abolish affirmative action.

    b. The government should support comparable worth policies.

    c. Homosexual couples should be granted the same rights as married couples.

17. Write an essay agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: The history of the United States has been one of gradual expansion of both the meaning of civil rights and the groups to which they are extended.

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Unit Test

Poverty

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. In recent years, government spending for social programs has been greatly cut.

____ 2. President Roosevelt's New Deal stressed jobs and social insurance rather than direct relief.

____ 3. Medicare and Medicaid were parts of the New Deal.

____ 4. Entitlement programs are programs in which everyone who qualifies receives benefits.

____ 5. President Clinton has proposed a two-year limit on the time people can receive AFDC payments.

____ 6. Medicare provides lower-income individuals with free or subsidized medical care.

____ 7. An unemployed person benefits greatly from the earned-income tax credit.

____ 8. Some states have already implemented programs for welfare reform.

____ 9. In 1994, 5 million families received AFDC benefits.

____ 10. Under the Clinton welfare reform plan, the food stamp program will be phased out over the next five years.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. enterprise zones

12. Great Society

13. Medicaid

14. earned-income tax credit

15. food stamps

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one argument for and one argument against each of the following statements:

    a. The federal government should limit welfare benefits to two years.

    b. The federal government should offer financial assistance to the working poor.

    c. The government should provide funds to expand enterprise zones in areas where unemployment and poverty are high.

17. Why is budgeting for entitlement programs difficult?

18. What effect might benefit reductions have on children who are supported by a welfare recipient?

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Unit Test

Health Care

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Americans spend more on health care than do people in any other country.

____ 2. At present, Americans spend nearly 25 percent of the country's gross domestic product on health care.

____ 3. Medicaid is a joint federal-state program to help older Americans pay for health care.

____ 4. Nearly 37 million Americans have no health insurance.

____ 5. Even people who are covered by private insurance sometimes go without medical treatment because they cannot afford to pay the deductible.

____ 6. Since the early 1980s, more than 1 million Americans have died from AIDS.

____ 7. Government-financed health care was a key part of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program.

____ 8. During the 1980s, health care costs increased at a rate near or below the rate of inflation.

____ 9. Medicare pays all the medical expenses of older Americans.

____ 10. The development of new medical technologies is reducing the cost of medical care.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Health Security Act

12. human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)

13. managed competition

14. deductible

15. universal coverage

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. List and describe three reasons why health care costs are rapidly rising.

17. Compare and contrast Medicare and Medicaid.

18. Write a one-page essay either agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "The government should implement price controls to reduce health care costs."

19. Write a one-page essay either agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "The United States should provide universal health care coverage."

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Unit Test

Immigration

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. California voters turned down Proposition 187, which would have denied some state services to illegal immigrants.

____ 2. The Japanese Exclusion Act marked the first time that the United States closed its doors to any group.

____ 3. Most illegal immigrants to the United States come from Latin America.

____ 4. Quotas have generally favored immigrants from cultures already heavily represented in the United States.

____ 5. The strength of the U.S. economy has been a major force in attracting immigrants to the United States.

____ 6. The Refugee Act of 1980 allows someone fleeing economic hardship to be admitted to the United States.

____ 7. One argument against illegal aliens is that they drive wages down by competing unfairly for jobs.

____ 8. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act granted some illegal aliens amnesty and allowed them to become citizens.

____ 9. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act has made employers more cautious.

____ 10. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was designed to restrict the flow of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. economic refugee

12. employer sanctions

13. illegal alien

14. political refugee

15. assimilation

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Provide one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements:

    a. The government should punish employers who hire illegal aliens.

    b. Economic refugees should be admitted to the United States.

    c. The government should deny social services to illegal immigrants.

17. Restrictive legislation has often been motivated by prejudice. Describe one such example.

18. Why did many native-born Americans favor immigration quotas in 1900?

19. Present one argument in support of and one argument against the premise that immigrants take jobs away from U.S. citizens.

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Energy

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. At present, more than 50 percent of the oil used in the United States comes from foreign sources.

____ 2. Many Americans support increased use of coal because U.S. coal resources are plentiful.

____ 3. In the 1980s many industrialized nations reduced their need for oil by improving energy conservation programs and by substituting other energy sources.

____ 4. Today a major energy debate centers on whether the government or private business should dictate the energy policy of the United States.

____ 5. President Reagan's energy goal was to make the United States self-sufficient through conservation and the development of domestic energy sources.

____ 6. Based on population figures, the United States uses more than its share of the world's energy.

____ 7. Oil is the major source of energy used in the United States.

____ 8. Renewable energy sources pose major environmental hazards.

____ 9. The main purpose of President Clinton's plan to increase gasoline taxes was to promote conservation.

____ 10. Conservation can do little to reduce U.S. energy consumption.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. renewable energy sources

12. fossil fuels

13. CAFE standards

14. Arab Oil Embargo

15. OPEC

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Identify one benefit and one cost associated with each of the following five energy sources: (1) coal, (2) nuclear, (3) solar, (4) synthetic fuels, and (5) oil.

17. Write a one-sentence description of steps the federal government may likely take to promote each of the following energy policies:

    a. increased conservation

    b. increased oil exploration and development

    c. use of renewable energy sources

    d. limits on imported oil

18. Assume that your senator is sponsoring a bill to increase taxes on gasoline, hoping that the higher tax will reduce the nation's use of gasoline, thereby lessening U.S. dependence on foreign oil. Write a paragraph supporting or refuting the logic behind the bill. Your answer should consider the effect of such a tax on: (1) the overall economy of the nation, (2) the oil industry, (3) mass transportation, (4) the automobile industry, (5) the trade deficit, and (6) the environment.

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Environment

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The greenhouse effect could melt polar ice caps and raise the level of oceans enough to flood many coastal U.S. cities.

____ 2. Changes in the average temperatures of a few degrees have little impact on the earth's weather.

____ 3. Acid rain is primarily a U.S. problem.

____ 4. Although the United States does not yet have a permanent underground repository for nuclear waste, the fifty states do have enough landfill sites for toxic and solid wastes.

____ 5. Nuclear waste can be dangerous for thousands of years.

____ 6. Toxic waste sometimes gets into drinking water.

____ 7. Most toxic waste sites have been identified and are being cleaned up.

____ 8. Incinerators that burn off solid waste and covert it into energy are almost pollution-free.

____ 9. The cost of pollution control is high, but so is the cost of allowing pollution to continue.

____ 10. The cost of pollution control efforts is often passed along to consumers.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Earth Summit

12. ozone layer

13. greenhouse effect

14. Superfund

15. acid rain

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following:

    a. Communities should make recycling mandatory for their residents.

    b. Environmental regulations should be eased.

    c. Polluters should pay the cost of toxic waste cleanup.

17. Describe one major problem associated with the 1980 Superfund legislation.

18. "Many issues are not national but international." Support this statement by describing the international nature of one type of pollution.

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Constitutional Rights

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The Bill of Rights was part of the original Constitution.

____ 2. It is ultimately the responsibility of the U.S. Supreme Court to interpret if and how the Bill of Rights applies to certain constitutional issues.

____ 3. Virginia and New York, two of the largest states in 1787, were the first to ratify the Constitution.

____ 4. One of the most significant features of the Fourteenth Amendment is that it extends the Bill of Rights to cover state and local governments as well as the national government.

____ 5. The courts have ruled that a citizen's right to free expression is absolute.

____ 6. Because of the Second Amendment, Americans can own any type of firearm.

____ 7. Police do not always need search warrants to conduct a lawful search.

____ 8. In *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court ruled that a woman has a constitutional right to an abortion.

____ 9. In 1962, the Supreme Court prohibited state-sponsored school prayer in public schools on the grounds that it infringed on the separation of church and state.

____ 10. Recent polls have shown that most Americans oppose a terminally ill patient's right to end his or her own life.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. exclusionary rule

12. search warrant

13. *Miranda* ruling

14. passive euthanasia

15. *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, Inc.*

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following issues.

    a. Abortions should remain legal.

    b. A moment of silence should be permitted in public schools.

    c. Euthanasia should be allowed.

17. List and briefly describe three amendments that protect persons accused of a crime.

18. Discuss the relationship of the Bill of Rights to the concept of democratic rule of the majority and give examples of tension between majority rule and minority rights.

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Crime and Drugs

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Although billions of dollars are spent annually to fight illegal drugs, drug abuse continues to be a major problem in the United States.

____ 2. According to opinion polls, crime has replaced the economy as the nation's top concern.

____ 3. Crime is concentrated primarily in the suburbs surrounding large cities.

____ 4. Most recent drug laws emphasize stricter penalties for drug traffickers but not for drug users.

____ 5. Although the Brady bill has passed the Senate several times, it has not been passed by the House of Representatives.

____ 6. Most recent congressional crime bills have emphasized punishment over prevention.

____ 7. Nearly half of all people arrested for violent crimes are sent to prison.

____ 8. More than 100,000 Americans are in prison because of drug-related offenses.

____ 9. The FBI reported that major crime actually dropped in the United States in 1993.

____ 10. Americans own more than 200 million firearms.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Brady bill

12. mandatory sentencing

13. "three strikes and you're out"

14. Second Amendment

15. Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The government should enact stricter gun control laws.

    b. The government should reform mandatory sentencing laws.

    c. The government should spend more money on drug treatment.

17. Choose one governmental policy or law designed to reduce crime or drug use, and describe its purpose or goal. Then tell whether the policy is/was or is/was not effective and why.

18. Explain why most experts believe there is a direct relationship between poverty and crime.

19. Imagine you are a member of Congress writing a new national crime bill. List and briefly explain three items you would include in your bill.

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Unit Test

Russia

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Under Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union held contested elections, reduced censorship, and sought to improve relations with the United States.

____ 2. Twelve of the former Soviet republics became members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

____ 3. Boris Yeltsin led the August 1991 coup that overthrew Gorbachev and his Soviet government.

____ 4. The idea of the "domino theory" was developed by the Soviet Union to justify its invasion of Afghanistan.

____ 5. Detente refers to the easing of tensions between the superpowers in the 1970s.

____ 6. The Soviet Union ceased to exist after Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation on December 25, 1991.

____ 7. During World War II, the United States and Soviet Union were enemies.

____ 8. Many of the significant breakthroughs in U.S.-Soviet relations occurred under Presidents Nixon and Reagan.

____ 9. Despite an election victory for Boris Yeltsin in December 1993, his supporters did not win enough seats to gain power in the parliament.

____ 10. Boris Yeltsin's economic "shock therapy" included privatization and the lifting of price controls.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. containment

12. Warsaw Pact

13. Cold War

14. economic "shock therapy"

15. privatization

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following:

    a. The United States should further reduce its nuclear arsenal.

    b. The United States should continue to support Boris Yeltsin.

    c. The U.S. government should continue to send economic aid to Russia.

17. Describe the reasons for the tension between Boris Yeltsin and the Russian parliament during much of 1992 and 1993.

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Defense

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. During the 1980s, the U.S. government cut defense spending because President Reagan believed the Soviet Union was no longer a threat.

____ 2. After World War II, U.S. military forces trained to fight one potential enemy—the Soviet Union.

____ 3. At present, the United States has less than 2 million men and women in the armed services.

____ 4. Russia and other former communist nations are now members of NATO.

____ 5. The United States plans on keeping about 300,000 troops in Europe through 1995.

____ 6. The War Powers Resolution was passed by Congress in response to the invasion of Grenada by President Ronald Reagan.

____ 7. Only Congress can declare war.

____ 8. The United States is committed by treaty to defending allies around the world.

____ 9. During the Cold War years of the 1950s and 1960s, the United States often used military force to support pro-American governments threatened by communist forces.

____ 10. U.S. troops were sent to Somalia in 1992 to keep a friendly government in power there.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Strategic Defense Initiative

12. NATO

13. national security

14. "global police force"

15. War Powers Resolution

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. In a short paragraph, agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

    a. Larger cuts should be made in the U.S. defense budget.

    b. The U.S. military should be used to police conflicts in troubled areas.

    c. The U.S. Congress, not the president, should be the final decisionmaker on the use of U.S. troops.

17. Many critics have argued that military spending is a poor allocation of scarce national resources that could better be invested in other programs. Others say it is money well spent because it ensures national security and helps the economy. Write a paragraph stating your opinion, but support your argument with facts.

18. "The War Powers Resolution is an unconstitutional infringement on the power of the presidency." Write a paragraph stating your opinion about this statement. Support your argument with facts.

19. Discuss ways in which the United States helps defend its allies around the world.

20. Some experts claim the role of the U.S. military is changing. What arguments do they use to support their claim?

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Unit Test

Latin America

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Haitian President Aristide was returned to power after U.S. forces occupied Haiti.

____ 2. Mexico, like many other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, has been politically unstable.

____ 3. Mexico is the United States' third largest trading partner after Canada and Japan.

____ 4. Cuba's communist revolution had little effect on other Latin American countries.

____ 5. Only since Castro took power in Cuba has the United States intervened militarily in Central America and the Caribbean.

____ 6. Civil War in El Salvador erupted over the redistribution of land that had been owned by the richest families.

____ 7. In 1990, opposition candidate Violeta Chamorro defeated the Sandinista candidate, Daniel Ortega, in elections in Nicaragua.

____ 8. In 1992, Brazilian president Alberto Fujimori suspended the constitution and dissolved the congress.

____ 9. The Monroe Doctrine is the basis of U.S. foreign policy in Latin America.

____ 10. Opponents of the North American Free Trade Agreement said that the agreement would harm U.S. workers because many manufacturing jobs will move to Mexico.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Monroe Doctrine

12. Cuban missile crisis

13. Reagan Doctrine

14. North American Free Trade Agreement

15. Medellín drug cartel

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements:

   a. The United States should lift the economic embargo against Cuba.

   b. A U.S.-Latin American free-trade zone should be established.

   c. The United States should use military force to promote democracy in Latin America.

17. Describe two major economic problems that seem to affect many Latin American countries.

18. Describe two examples of U.S. military intervention in Latin America.

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The Middle East

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The modern history of the Middle East has been dominated by conflict between Arabs and Israelis.

____ 2. In 1947, the United Nations proposed that two states, one Arab and one Jewish, be created in Palestine.

____ 3. The United States at first refused to recognize the new nation of Israel.

____ 4. Egypt's President Nasser successfully unified all Arab nations into the United Arab Republic.

____ 5. Israel is the most populous country in the Middle East.

____ 6. Most Middle Eastern countries were European colonies at one time.

____ 7. The September 1993 peace agreement between the PLO and Israel included a provision by Israel to create a Palestinian homeland.

____ 8. Yasir Arafat is the leader of the PLO.

____ 9. Israel occupies the West Bank but no Israelis have been allowed to settle there.

____ 10. The Persian Gulf War was caused by Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Balfour Declaration

12. Palestine Liberation Organization

13. UN Resolutions 242 and 338

14. *intifada*

15. Camp David Accords

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following issues.

    a. The United States should lift the economic embargo against Iraq.

    b. The United States should support an independent Palestinian state.

    c. The United States should insist that Israel return the Golan Heights.

17. Describe the causes of conflict in the Middle East from the perspectives of *both* a Palestinian and an Israeli.

18. What is controversial about Israel's occupation of the West Bank?

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Unit Test

International Trade

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Tariffs discourage the purchase of domestic products.

____ 2. An advantage of operating a multinational corporation is that the company can take advantage of lower labor costs outside of the United States.

____ 3. The two largest trading partners of the United States are Japan and Germany.

____ 4. Free trade helped the United States get out of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

____ 5. The trade deficit is blamed for the loss of thousands of U.S. jobs to foreign workers every year.

____ 6. The U.S. government encouraged foreign countries to sell goods in the United States after World War II.

____ 7. A country's geographic position may give it a comparative advantage.

____ 8. Protectionism may result in a trade war.

____ 9. GATT is an international organization established to set a code of conduct for nations that trade.

____ 10. The Trade Act of 1988 requires the president to increase trade with countries that limit U.S. trade.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. free trade

12. productivity

13. protectionism

14. quotas

15. trade deficit

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Identify two trade barriers and explain how they would restrict trade.

17. Provide two reasons why the productivity rate in some foreign countries increased faster than it did in the United States.

18. Explain how the institution of trade barriers could hurt the U.S. export market.

19. Below are three interest groups in the United States. State whether each would likely support free trade or a protectionist policy and tell why.

a. consumers

b. exporters

c. unemployed workers

20. Assume you are the head of Chrysler Corporation. The automobile industry has been severely hurt because of foreign imports. Write a letter to the president of the United States describing what you think should be done about the U.S. trade deficit.

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Europe

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. One goal of Soviet foreign policy after World War II was to establish a buffer zone between the Soviet Union and Germany.

____ 2. All members of the EC signed the Maastricht Treaty in June 1992, and European unity became a reality on January 1, 1993.

____ 3. Until 1990, Germany was divided into two separate countries, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

____ 4. NATO was originally formed to fight Nazi Germany during World War II.

____ 5. The economies of the United States and the nations of Europe are closely related.

____ 6. The Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty signed by U.S. President Reagan and Soviet President Gorbachev had little effect on Europe.

____ 7. Both the United States and Russia have pledged to reduce the number of their troops stationed in Europe.

____ 8. Croatia, the largest and most powerful of the former Yugoslav republics, has tried to subdue its Muslim neighbors in Bosnia.

____ 9. In recent years, the United States has had a trade surplus with Europe.

____ 10. Catholics in Northern Ireland want to split with Great Britain and become part of the Republic of Ireland.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Yalta Conference

12. Marshall Plan

13. European Economic Community (EC)

14. Fortress Europe

15. nationalism

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Provide one pro and one con argument for each of the following.

    a. The United States should send a peacekeeping force to the former Yugoslavia.

    b. The United States should continue to defend Europe.

    c. The United States should send aid to eastern Europe.

17. Give two examples of economic interdependence between the United States and Europe.

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Unit Test

Nuclear Proliferation

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The world's largest arms dealers are the oil rich nations of the Middle East and Asia.

____ 2. The United States and other nuclear powers have agreed to transfer nuclear technology for electricity production and medical research.

____ 3. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has the power to inspect nuclear facilities and enforce UN nonproliferation treaties.

____ 4. In 1994, Ukrainian leaders agreed to deactivate their nuclear weapons in exchange for U.S. aid and security assurances.

____ 5. While many countries have signed pledges not to acquire nuclear weapons, others have refused to make such promises.

____ 6. Peaceful nuclear reactors can be used to develop weapons.

____ 7. Many experts believe that the spread of nuclear weapons has increased over the past twenty-five years.

____ 8. The United States has been a major supplier of nuclear technology and materials.

____ 9. Many countries developing nuclear weapons have been engaged in serious conflicts with their neighbors.

____ 10. The development and manufacture of sophisticated military hardware accounts for hundreds of thousands of jobs in the United States.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. nuclear technology

12. nuclear proliferation

13. nuclear nonproliferation

14. conventional weapons

15. nuclear club

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following:

    a. Current safeguards are adequate to control the spread of nuclear weapons.

    b. The United States should stop exporting conventional weapons to unstable regions of the world.

17. What are the powers of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)?

18. Choose one treaty or agreement you have read about. Which nations were involved? What were the terms of the treaty? Was the agreement successful? Why or why not?

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World Poverty

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. One billion people now live in poverty, many suffering from hunger and disease.

____ 2. Because of improved farming methods, Africa should soon recover from the severe food shortages it has recently experienced.

____ 3. The large debts that many developing nations have incurred curtail their own economic development.

____ 4. One reason that the United States provides foreign aid is to open up future markets for American products.

____ 5. Sales of American military equipment to friendly nations have increased as a result of U.S. aid to those nations.

____ 6. The United States commits about 10 percent of its annual budget to foreign aid.

____ 7. Most U.S. aid goes to areas in Africa that are experiencing famine.

____ 8. The highest population growth rates tend to be in the least developed nations.

____ 9. Most of the world's most impoverished countries are in the Northern Hemisphere.

____ 10. Starvation plagues more people today than it did thirty years ago.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. malnutrition

12. multilateral aid

13. bilateral aid

14. Agency for International Development

15. World Bank

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one argument favoring and one argument opposing each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should reduce foreign aid.

    b. Politics should determine which countries receive American aid.

    c. The United States should promote family planning to slow population growth.

17. Identify three reasons why the United States has historically given foreign aid.

18. Explain the difference between humanitarian assistance and security assistance.

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Sub-Saharan Africa

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. By 1920, nearly half of the African continent was under colonial rule.

____ 2. The policy of apartheid denied political power to nonwhites.

____ 3. Many African countries gained independence in the 1950s and 1960s.

____ 4. The United States backed Jonas Savimbi's UNITA party in the civil war in Liberia.

____ 5. Tribal tensions between Hutus and Tutsis led to civil war in Rwanda.

____ 6. Operation Restore Hope was designed to bring Siad Barre back to power in Somalia.

____ 7. Most of the legal facets of apartheid have been dismantled in South Africa.

____ 8. South Africa's economy benefited greatly from U.S. aid and business, and South Africa became the first industrialized nation in sub-Saharan Africa.

____ 9. The Cold War played a major role in U.S. policies toward sub-Saharan Africa.

____ 10. A civil war in Sudan is being fought between the Muslim government and non-Muslims who do not want to live according to Muslim law.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. apartheid

12. colonialism

13. African National Congress

14. UNITA

15. Operation Restore Hope

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con response for each of the following statements.

   a. The United States should send large-scale economic aid to sub-Saharan Africa.

   b. The United States should become more involved in nation building in Africa.

   c. U.S. businesses should reinvest in South Africa.

17. Explain the significance of the April 1994 election results in South Africa.

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East Asia

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Japan rebuilt its postwar industries with the help of American aid.

____ 2. The U.S. trade deficit with Japan has steadily increased since the early 1980s.

____ 3. The United States and Japan agreed to a security arrangement in 1952.

____ 4. Trade is essential to the economy of Japan.

____ 5. In recent years, Japan has had the fastest-growing economy in East Asia.

____ 6. U.S.-China relations faltered when the United States accused some Chinese factories of illegally producing copies of U.S. products.

____ 7. Japanese-owned factories in the United States provide thousands of jobs for American workers.

____ 8. China has abandoned its communist government in favor of capitalism.

____ 9. The Japanese government has done little to assist Japanese business.

____ 10. In the early 1990s, U.S. officials were worried that North Korea was building nuclear weapons.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. trade deficit

12. the *Diet*

13. MFN trade status

14. Mutual Security Treaty

15. Tiananmen Square

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. From the perspective of a leading consumer advocate, write a letter to your member of Congress about U.S.-Japanese trade policies.

17. From the perspective of an unemployed autoworker, write a letter to your member of Congress about U.S.-Japanese trade policies.

18. Compare Japan's explanation for the U.S. trade deficit to America's explanation for the trade deficit.

19. Provide one argument for and against each of the following statements:

    a. The United States should withdraw its military from Japan.

    b. The United States should promote trade with China.

    c. The United States should normalize diplomatic relations with North Korea.

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Unit Test Answers

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The Federal Government

1. T

2. F—Republicans control both houses of the 104th Congress.

3. F—They often disagree.

4. T

5. F—The power to declare war is expressly granted to Congress.

6. F—Even though the senior member of the majority party is often chosen to be the chair, he or she is not automatically guaranteed the position. The committee may choose someone with less seniority.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—Government spending has actually increased despite budget cuts in some programs.

11. The cabinet is made up of the secretaries of thirteen executive departments and the attorney general, along with the heads of other key administrative agencies. All are appointed by the president and can be fired by the president.

12. The majority leaders are chosen by the members of the House and Senate whose party is in power. Leaders attempt to line up their party members when important votes come up and steer important legislation through passage in their respective houses of Congress.

13. The fiscal year for the federal government runs from October 1 of one year to September 30 of the next year and is used for accounting purposes.

14. The chief justice "leads" the Supreme Court in presiding over conferences, assigning associate justices to write opinions, and determining the list of cases the Court will consider. The chief is paid more than the associates; however, his or her vote carries no more weight than any of the other justices.

15. No federal agency or program can operate without receiving approval and funding from Congress. Congress grants approval by passing an authorization bill, which states the goals of the program, the rules and regulations Congress believes are necessary, and the amount of money that the appropriate agency can spend on the program.

16. Students can pick any three cabinet members. Refer to "The Clinton Administration" as a guide.

17. Answers will vary, but the following items should be included: (1) the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) draws up a budget reflecting the administration's priorities; (2) the president submits the proposed budget to Congress; (3) Congressional committees hold budget hearings; (4) Congress passes authorization, appropriation, revenue-raising, and reconciliation bills; (5) the fiscal year begins.

18. Students may go into detail, but their argument should say that deficits are caused by too little income, too much spending, or a combination of both.

The Economy

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. F—President Clinton's plan was aimed at reducing the deficit by $500 million over five years.

5. F—The Fed raised interest rates on six different occasions in 1994.

6. F—During periods of high inflation, people are less inclined to save money.

7. F—President Clinton's plan raised some forms of taxes to lower the deficit.

8. T

9. F—Inflation remained low and unemployment did drop.

10. F—Federal law does not require a balanced budget every year.

11. Inflation is a continuing rise in prices for goods and services.

12. A recession is a time marked by increased unemployment and declines in production, spending, and consumer demand.

13. Supply-side economics refers to an approach that limits the government's role in the economy. Supply-siders believe that the economy will flourish if businesses and consumers are allowed to pursue their own interests within a free marketplace not controlled by the government.

14. Productivity refers to the amount of goods produced per person per hour.

15. International interdependence refers to the dependence of the American economy on the economies of other nations and the dependence of other economies on the U.S. economy.

16. Students are to give both a pro and a con response to each statement. Refer to "The Debate" section at the end of the chapter for possible answers. Students may include other valid responses; therefore, teacher judgment is important.

17. The correct response is *a*. The retired couple will be hurt the most by inflation. While their costs go up, their fixed income does not. Others have a chance to increase their incomes.

Education

1. F—Unequal education opportunities often result from property-tax-based funding.

2. T

3. T

4. F—This practice is called mainstreaming.

5. F—Local governments provide most of the funding for education.

6. T

7. F—This act provided for adult literacy programs and Head Start; the Higher Education Act provided the scholarships.

8. T

9. F—The number has increased.

10. T

11. Busing refers to a court-ordered plan whereby school districts must transport students from neighborhood schools to other schools in the district to achieve racial integration.

12. Desegregation took place in U.S. schools after the Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional for school districts to separate students by race.

13. Mainstreaming refers to a practice of placing disabled students in classes with students who are not disabled to allow them to be educated in the "least restrictive way" possible.

14. Magnet schools offer specialized curricula designed to attract students from all over the district for the purpose of encouraging racial integration.

15. School choice refers to the practice of allowing parents in certain states or districts to choose the school they want their children to attend.

16. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

17. The eight goals are:
    - All children in America will start school ready to learn.
    - The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
    - American students will be competent in all core academic subjects.
    - American students will be first in the world in science and mathmatics.
    - Every adult American will be literate and possess the skills necessary to compete in a global economy.
    - Every school in America will be safe, disciplined, and drug free.
    - American teachers will have access to programs for the continued improvement of their professional careers.
    - Every school will promote partnerships to increase parental involvement.

18. Reforms include raising graduation requirements, lengthening school days and years, increasing teacher salaries, and letting parents choose schools.

19. Decentralization allows parents a greater role in determining the kind of education they want for their children.

20. Answers will vary. Look for logical reforms that are supported by statements that indicate how each change would improve the quality of education. Students must identify three changes.

Women and Minorities

1. F—Some "Jim Crow" laws remained in effect into the 1960s.

2. F—The military was ordered to integrate by President Harry Truman in 1948.

3. T

4. T

5. F—Such discrimination was prohibited by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

6. F—Federal law does not extend civil rights protections based on sexual orientation, although some state and local laws may extend these rights.

7. F—Women won the right to vote by ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

8. T

9. F—The ERA failed to receive approval of the necessary thirty-eight states and was not added to the Constitution.

10. F—The military can discharge a soldier if he or she displays homosexual conduct.

11. Segregation refers to the practice of separating people of different races or ethnic groups.

12. Affirmative action is a policy that requires employers to take positive steps to overcome the effects of past discrimination.

13. Suffragists were people who led the fight to get the vote primarily for women.

14. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations such as restaurants and hotels and in programs receiving federal aid.

15. Comparable worth is the idea that men's and women's salaries for jobs that require comparable effort, skill, experience, education, and responsibility should be the same.

16. Students must either agree or disagree with all three statements. Answers will vary. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students must take a stance, and then defend it with specific evidence.

Poverty

1. F—Spending for social programs has increased.

2. T

3. F—They were parts of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

4. T

5. T

6. F—Medicaid, not Medicare, provides health care to lower-income individuals.

7. F—Only those workers who earn an income below the poverty level qualify for the earned-income tax credit.

8. T

9. T

10. F—There is no provision for eliminating the food stamp program under the Clinton administration's welfare reform plan.

11. Enterprise zones are designated places in certain rural and urban areas where unemployment and poverty are high. New businesses are given certain tax breaks for locating in such areas and for hiring local workers.

12. The Great Society was the name of President Johnson's domestic policy program. Among its iniatives were a major civil rights law, Medicare and Medicaid, and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

13. Medicaid provides free or subsidized medical care for low-income Americans. It is jointly funded by the federal and state governments.

14. An earned-income tax credit is an income credit—similar to a rebate—from the federal government given to families who earned less than $23,050 in 1994.

15. Food stamps are vouchers that eligible people can take to the store and redeem for food.

16. Answers will vary. Make sure that student statements are factual. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. It is difficult to calculate exactly how much each program is going to cost because payments go to whomever is entitled, and their numbers vary from year to year.

18. Answers will vary but may include the possibility of homelessness, lack of adequate food or clothing, and the possibility of deteriorating health.

Health Care

1. T

2. F—Americans spend 14 percent of the GDP on health care.

3. F—Medicaid helps low-income people pay for health care.

4. T

5. T

6. F—250,000 Americans have died from AIDS.

7. T

8. F—Health care has increased at a much faster rate than the general inflation rate.

9. F—Recipients have to pay the first $600 of a hospital stay and whatever extra amount doctors charge over the amount the government is willing to pay.

10. F—The new technologies are expensive, and the costs of equipment and services are passed on to patients and their insurers.

11. The Health Security Act was President Clinton's proposal that offered universal coverage and managed competition.

12. Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is the virus that attacks the white blood cells in the body and causes AIDS.

13. Managed competition is a policy that combines free-market forces with government regulation.

14. The deductible is the amount of money patients must pay before their insurance coverage begins.

15. Universal coverage refers to an idea that all Americans would be guaranteed health care coverage by the government.

16. Students should give three answers. Possible answers include: (1) the U.S. health care industry has steadily expanded its system to where people no longer pay their own bills (bills are being paid by insurance companies, Medicare, and so forth); (2) the development of expensive new technology has caused a rapid rise in costs; and (3) the rapidly aging population adds to the number of people with health problems.

17. Medicare is a two-part government program that provides for the health needs of older Americans. The first part of Medicare helps pay for hospital nursing care. It is funded through a payroll tax paid by each working person. The second part is called supplemental medical insurance; it covers 80 percent of doctor fees, laboratory tests, and other expenses and is optional. Medicaid provides for the medical needs of people on welfare.

18. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students are to take a stance and then defend it with specific evidence.

19. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students are asked to take a position and then support it with factual arguments.

Immigration

1. F—Proposition 187 was passed.

2. F—The law was the Chinese Exclusion Act.

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. F—The act allows entry to political refugees, not economic refugees.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The McCarran-Walter Act added ideology to the requirements for admission of immigrants to the United States. Officials were concerned about immigrants entering the country who were communists.

11. An economic refugee is a person who flees his or her country because of poverty.

12. The use of government-imposed employer sanctions to restrict illegal immigration is one of the provisions of the Immigration and Control Act of 1986. Such sanctions allow the government to fine employers who hire illegal aliens.

13. An illegal alien is a person who enters a country without the permission of the nation he or she is entering.

14. A political refugee is a person who flees a country for political reasons, usually fear of the government that is in power.

15. Assimilation refers to the process of becoming like the majority population of a country.

16. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Students could give many examples from the list of legislation. Examples include the Chinese Exclusion Act and Gentlemen's Agreement, both of which excluded Asians because of American fears of Asians. The Quota Acts were also discriminatory, purposely based on census figures that did not accurately represent the ethnic makeup of the United States at the time the acts were passed.

18. Many native-born Americans were upset by the swing in immigration from northern and western Europe to immigration from southern and eastern Europe. They were unfamiliar with the cultural customs of the new immigrants and saw them as less desirable than immigrants who settled in the United States in the years prior to 1890.

19. Pro arguments could include: (1) the U.S. economy cannot absorb more immigrants, and (2) immigrants increase the overall labor pool and many are willing to work for lower wages, thus driving down overall wages.

    Con arguments could include: (1) immigrants are important because many are willing to take jobs that many native-born Americans turn down, and (2) the 1990 immigration law will create new jobs for Americans because it encourages the admission of well-educated immigrants who can create new businesses that will hire American workers.

Energy

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. T

5. F—Reagan's goal was to take the U.S. government out of the energy business and let the marketplace decide what energy resources were wanted.

6. T

7. T

8. F—Renewable energy sources are nonpolluting.

9. F—The main purpose was to increase revenue to fight the budget deficit.

10. F—Other nations in the world have reduced their need for oil by improving energy conservation programs. Conservation would be effective in the United States as well.

11. Renewable energy sources are inexhaustible energy sources such as wind, water, and solar energy.

12. Fossil fuels—oil, coal, natural gas—were all formed by fossil deposits.

13. CAFE (corporate average fuel economy) standard refers to the government requirement for fuel economy that car manufacturers must meet.

14. The Arab Oil Embargo occurred in 1973 as Arab oil-exporting nations drastically reduced exports to the United States, thereby causing shortages and a rapid increase in the price of gasoline.

15. OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) is an oil trade cartel.

16. Coal—Benefits: Coal reserves are plentiful, it costs less to produce than oil or gas, and federal laws have eliminated some problems associated with coal. Costs: Coal contributes to air pollution and acid rain. Strip mining harms the land.

Nuclear Power—Benefits: Nuclear power is capable of providing vast amounts of energy. The safety record of U.S. reactors is good. Costs: Power plants are expensive to build, waste disposal is a problem, and public resistance is strong because of the safety issue.

Solar Energy—Benefits: Solar is nonpolluting and sources will never run out. Costs: Cost of producing energy is high.

Synthetic Fuels—Benefits: Synthetics are capable of providing vast amounts of energy. Costs: Such fuels are expensive to produce, require large amounts of water, and could create environmental problems.

Oil—Benefits: U.S. economy already functions on oil, and costs are reasonable. Costs: Oil supplies are limited, OPEC can control prices, and oil burning pollutes.

17. Although students may have other answers, the following responses are likely:
   A. Promote conservation: Government may place high taxes on fuel to decrease consumption and close government-owned land to exploration.
   B. Increase oil exploration and development: Government could subsidize exploration, cut taxes that companies must pay so they can spend the money on exploration and development, and open up federal lands to exploration and development.
   C. Promote renewable energy sources: Government could give tax credits for solar and wind energy equipment and give grants for development and installation.
   D. Limit importation of oil: Government might impose high tariffs to discourage importation and impose high federal taxes at the gas pump to discourage consumption.

18. Answers will vary, but several of the following points should be mentioned:
   - If consumers have to spend more on gasoline, they will have less to spend on other things. This could hurt the overall economy.
   - The oil industry would earn less, and there would be greater interest in developing alternative sources of energy.
   - Mass transportation would be affected if such a law were passed because more Americans might use mass transportation. Cities would be pressed to develop more forms of mass transportation.
   - The automobile industry would have to respond to consumer demand for more fuel-efficient cars, sales of inefficient cars would decrease, and sales of imports might go up.
   - The foreign trade deficit would worsen if we did not reduce our foreign oil imports.
   - The environment would be affected by a decrease in gasoline consumption because the air would be less polluted. If nonpolluting alternative energy sources were developed and used, the environment would profit.

Environment

1. T

2. F—Such changes have great impact.

3. F—Acid rain is an international problem.

4. F—Many states have few sites left; others are running out of sites.

5. T

6. T

7. F—Many have not been identified, and all of those identified have not yet been cleaned up.

8. F—The incinerators can pollute the air and may produce hazardous ash.

9. T

10. T

11. Representatives from 178 nations met in Brazil to negotiate environmental agreements.

12. The ozone layer is a thin layer of gas that protects the earth from the harmful ultraviolet rays of the sun.

13. The greenhouse effect refers to the gradual rise in the temperature of the earth's atmosphere caused by carbon dioxide trapping the sun's heat.

14. Superfund is a pool of federal money established to clean up toxic sites when the businesses or people responsible for polluting the sites have not been found.

15. Acid rain is a highly acidic rainfall that causes damage to soil, plants, buildings, and bodies of water.

16. Answers will vary, but a good answer should contain a valid argument agreeing or disagreeing with each of the issues. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Problems associated with Superfund include: (1) officials are unable to identify the original polluters of the sites; (2) when the original polluters are identified, they often are no longer in business; and (3) the amount of money in Superfund is not enough to pay for all the cleanups that are needed.

18. Answers will vary, but typical answers might include:
    - acid rain—This problem involves both Canada and the United States (and many nations in Europe).
    - stream and lake pollution—If the body of water crosses national borders, one nation alone cannot solve the problem if the other nation continues to pollute.
    - the Chernobyl incident—Air pollutants were carried across many national borders.
    - greenhouse effect/ozone layer—All nations need to consider how their nations add to these problems.

Constitutional Rights

1. F—It was added by the first Congress in 1789 as the first ten amendments.

2. T

3. F—Virginia and New York refused to ratify the Constitution until they were promised that a Bill of Rights would be added.

4. T

5. F—The courts have ruled that certain types of speech and writing can be limited.

6. F—Federal laws restrict some kinds of weapons such as sawed-off shotguns and fully automatic machine guns and rifles.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—Polls show that more than 70 percent support the right to die.

11. The exclusionary rule says that any illegally seized evidence cannot be presented in a trial.

12. A search warrant is a document secured from a judge prior to a search, listing items to be seized and the address to be searched.

13. In its 1966 decision in *Miranda v. Arizona*, the Supreme Court ruled that suspects in police custody must be read their legal rights before being questioned.

14. Passive euthanasia refers to a patient's refusal of life-prolonging treatments.

15. In its 1989 decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, Inc.*, the Supreme Court gave states greater power to restrict abortions.

16. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Their answers must be factual, and teacher's judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" for likely responses.

17. The Fourth Amendment protects against unreasonable searches and seizures; the Fifth Amendment protects suspects from self-incrimination; the Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a speedy trial with a jury, the right to an attorney, and the right to confront witnesses; and the Eighth Amendment forbids excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment.

18. Answers will vary, but students should base their answers on the information presented and discussed in this chapter.

Crime and Drugs

1. T

2. T

3. F—Crime is concentrated in the low-income neighborhoods of the inner city.

4. F—New drug laws provide for stricter penalties against both drug traffickers and drug users.

5. F—The Brady bill passed Congress in 1993 and became law in 1994.

6. T

7. F—Only about one-third are sent to prison.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. The Brady bill, now law, calls for a five-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun.

12. Mandatory sentencing laws obligate judges to sentence criminals to at least a minimum term in prison.

13. "Three strikes and you're out" refers to a crime-fighting tactic of giving mandatory life sentences to criminals convicted of three felonies for violent crimes.

14. The Second Amendment refers to the right of the people to keep and bear arms.

15. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 provides $30 billion over six years for crime control. The act added police officers, banned some assault weapons, and imposed some mandatory life sentences.

16. Students are asked to give both a pro and a con response to all three statements. Answers may vary, and teacher's judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" for likely responses.

17. Student answers should focus on specific details from "Crime and Drugs" in *Current Issues*.

18. Answers should include information in *Current Issues* explaining how poverty and crime are related.

19. Answers should be supported by factual and accurate information presented in *Current Issues*, class activities, and discussions.

Russia

1. T

2. T

3. F—Yeltsin mobilized opposition to the coup and helped restore Gorbachev to the presidency.

4. F—The United States used the idea of the domino theory as part of its justification for involvement in Vietnam.

5. T

6. T

7. F—During World War II, the United States and Soviet Union were allies.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. Containment was a U.S. policy to prevent further expansion of Soviet influence without forcing the Soviets out of eastern Europe.

12. The Warsaw Pact was the military alliance of Soviet-controlled east European nations, designed to offset NATO in the west.

13. The Cold War was an era of conflict between the superpowers fought with propaganda, intimidating arms buildups, and attempts to gain allies through the use of economic and military aid.

14. Economic "shock therapy" refers to Yeltsin's radical measures to transform Russia's centrally controlled economy into a free-market system.

15. Yeltsin's plan of privatization is to sell state-owned assets to Russian citizens to encourage worker ownership and entrepreneurship.

16. Students are asked to write both a pro argument and a con argument for each of the three statements. Answers will vary, but should be accurate and factual. Teacher's judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" in *Current Issues* for likely responses.

17. Students should mention that although President Yeltsin was popularly elected, the parliament was not. Many in the Russian Congress were holdovers from the old communist system and opposed Yeltsin's reforms. Since there is not a well-defined system of balance of power between the two branches, both are trying to exert control over the country. To settle the issue, Yeltsin called for a national referendum to ask the Russian people to vote on whether they wanted a parliamentary or presidential system of government.

Defense

1. F—Defense spending increased because Reagan believed the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in military strength.

2. T

3. T

4. F—Russia and other eastern European countries are only "partners" in NATO—not NATO members.

5. F—The United States plans to reduce its troop strength in Europe to less than 100,000 by 1995.

6. F—The War Powers Resolution was passed during the Nixon administration and was in response to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The goal of the U.S. effort was to disarm rival gangs and protect supply convoys bringing food to starving Somalis.

11. The Strategic Defense Initiative or "Star Wars" program was a defense system in space to destroy incoming enemy missiles.

12. NATO—North Atlantic Treaty Organization—is a military alliance that includes the United States, Canada, most of western Europe, Greece, and Turkey.

13. National security means protection of vital economic and political interests as well as defense of the nation's borders.

14. Some fear that if U.S. forces are committed to unstable parts of the world to keep the peace, they may be asked to serve as a "global police force."

15. The War Powers Resolution limits the president's use of U.S. troops by requiring the president to advise Congress before sending troops to a potential combat zone and limiting the time they can stay there without congressional authorization.

16. Students must either agree or disagree with all three statements. Answers should be factual, and teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

17. The question calls for student opinion and critical thinking. Answers should be based on fact, and teacher's judgment is important.

18. The question calls for student opinion and critical thinking. Answers should be based on fact, and teacher's judgment is important.

19. The United States defends its allies by placing troops and nuclear missiles on allied soil, giving allies money to keep their defense systems up to date, and joining alliances such as NATO.

20. Experts who agree that the role of the U.S. military is changing point to a lessening of hostility with the Soviet Union and the need to be able to respond to the increasing potential for trouble in smaller countries such as those in the Middle East.

Latin America

1. T

2. F—Mexico has been relatively stable politically.

3. T

4. F—Cuba's revolution inspired other revolutionary groups, especially in Central America.

5. F—The United States has a long history of intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, going back to the Spanish-American War in 1898 and the use of U.S. Marines in Nicaragua in 1909.

6. T

7. T

8. F—Fujimori is the president of Peru.

9. T

10. T

11. The Monroe Doctrine is the basis of U.S. foreign policy regarding Latin America. It said that the United States would regard any European attempt to reestablish colonies in the Americas or to intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere as a hostile act.

12. The Cuban missile crisis occurred in 1962 after the United States learned that the Soviet Union had missiles in Cuba and was constructing missile launch sites. President Kennedy placed U.S. forces on alert and blockaded Cuba until the missiles were removed.

13. The Reagan Doctrine stated that the United States should strengthen its presence in Central America to prevent communist expansion.

14. The North American Free Trade Agreement would lower or eliminate tariffs on a large portion of U.S. exports to Mexico and Canada.

15. The Medellín drug cartel was blamed for drug trafficking, kidnapping, and murder in Colombia in the 1980s and 1990s. The cartel was led by Pablo Escobar until he was killed after escaping from prison in 1993.

16. Students should give both a pro argument and a con argument for all three statements. Answers will vary but should be based on fact. Teacher judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. Choices could include: land ownership by a few families; land reform; unstable governments; civil war; lack of education; unemployment; and other social and economic problems.

18. Choices could include: the Mexican War (1846-1848); the Spanish-American War (1898); naval intervention in Nicaragua in 1909; and the U.S. invasion of Panama in 1989.

The Middle East

1. T

2. T

3. F—The United States was one of the first nations to officially recognize Israel.

4. F—Nasser's attempt failed.

5. F—Egypt is the most populous country in the Middle East, with more than 55 million people.

6. T

7. F—The agreement gave limited authority to Palestinians in the occupied territories but did not promise them a homeland.

8. T

9. F—Thousands of Israelis have settled in the West Bank.

10. T

11. The Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917 by the British government. In the Declaration, Britain agreed in principle to a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

12. The PLO was formed in 1964 to lead the fight for the creation of a Palestinian state.

13. These UN resolutions call for an end to all declarations of war and for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories. They also call for continued negotiations and the "just settlement" of the Palestinian refugee problem.

14. The *intifada* was a violent protest against the presence of Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories by Palestinians who live there.

15. The Camp David Accords established a framework for peace in the Middle East. President Carter brought together the leaders of Egypt and Israel at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland.

16. Students are to write both a pro and a con response to each of the three statements. Their answers must be factual, and teacher judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. Palestinians would say that their ancestors have been living in the region for hundreds of years, that the Israelis forced them from their homes in Palestine in 1948, and that the only way to get back their land is to fight. Israelis would say that their nation was legally established by the United Nations and that they have a right to it, that the land was given to them by God thousands of years ago, and that they will fight to hold on to it.

18. The West Bank was seized by Israel from Jordan in the Six-Day War in 1967. Israeli leaders believe the West Bank is crucial to Israel's defense. Arab countries argue that Israel's continued occupation violates international law. The settlement of Jewish communities in the West Bank has antagonized the Arabs and heightened tensions.

International Trade

1. F—Tariffs discourage purchase of foreign products.

2. T

3. F—The two largest trading partners are Japan and Canada.

4. F—High tariffs deepened the Great Depression.

5. T

6. T

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The Trade Act of 1988 requires the president to limit imports from countries that do not give American exports the same treatment as their products receive in the United States.

11. Free trade refers to trade without restrictions.

12. Productivity is a measure of the amount of goods produced per man-hour.

13. Protectionism refers to the erecting of barriers to free trade.

14. Quotas are an established maximum number of products that can be imported into the nation.

15. A trade deficit occurs when a nation buys more foreign products than it sells to other nations.

16. Quotas restrict imports to a specific number. Tariffs are taxes on imports that make foreign products more expensive than similar domestic products.

17. Many foreign companies have been more willing to invest in newer, more efficient manufacturing techniques, while U.S. companies have often lagged behind. Foreign companies often benefit from strong government planning.

18. If the United States imposes trade barriers against importing nations, those nations may retaliate by limiting American imports into their own nations. That would hurt those American businesses that are trying to sell their products outside the United States.

19. Consumers would probably support free trade because this would ensure lower prices. Exporters would support free trade because a protectionist policy might result in a trade war that would hurt their business. Unemployed workers would probably support a protectionist policy in the hope that it would save American jobs. On the other hand, as consumers, unemployed workers might support free trade because it ensures lower prices and greater choice of goods.

20. Students' letters should be based on facts—not opinion or emotion. They will probably refer to trade protection and reducing budget deficits and trade imbalance. Teacher's judgment is important.

Europe

1. T

2. F—Denmark initially rejected the Maastricht Treaty, and European unity is not yet a reality, although the single market is in effect.

3. T

4. F—NATO was formed in 1949 as an alliance to protect Europe from invasion by communist forces from eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

5. T

6. F—The INF Treaty was a landmark arms agreement eliminating land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

7. T

8. F—Serbia is the largest republic, and it has sent troops into Bosnia.

9. T

10. T

11. The Yalta Conference of 1945 was a meeting of the "Big Three"—Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—to discuss responsibility for rebuilding Europe after World War II. The meeting set the stage for the division of Europe into east and west.

12. The Marshall Plan provided billions of dollars in U.S. aid, investment, and trade to rebuild Europe after World War II.

13. The European Economic Community was formed in 1957. Its twelve member nations operate economically almost as if they were one country. In 1993 all trade barriers in the EC were eliminated.

14. Fortress Europe describes the world's largest and wealthiest free-trade market that would exist after European unity is fully functioning.

15. Nationalism is often described as a population's devotion to their religion, culture, or ethnicity.

16. Students are to give both a pro and a con answer to all three parts. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

17. Answers will vary. Students might cite examples of economic interdependence such as loans from U.S. banks to European countries and vice versa, interest rates and the value of the dollar, the value of the dollar and cost of oil imports, and large volumes of bilateral trade.

Nuclear Proliferation

1. F—The five members of the UN Security Council are the world's top arms exporters.

2. T

3. F—The International Atomic Energy Agency has the power to inspect nuclear facilities but does not have the power to enforce treaties.

4. T

5. T

6. T

7. F—Many experts believe that the spread of nuclear weapons has slowed over the past twenty-five years.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. Nuclear technology refers to developments in weaponry, energy, and medicine using atomic energy.

12. Nuclear proliferation refers to the spread of nuclear technology, usually relating to weapons.

13. Nuclear nonproliferation is the stopping or slowing of the spread of nuclear technology.

14. Conventional weapons are nonnuclear weapons such as tanks, aircraft, missiles, and so forth.

15. The nuclear club refers to the group of nations that currently have nuclear weapon capabilities.

16. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the two issues. Answers should reflect student opinion or factual information from the reading, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

17. The IAEA serves as a watchdog by inspecting nuclear facilities. It ensures that members of the international community do not use nuclear technology or fuel to make bombs.

18. Student responses may correspond to one treaty or agreement they have read about in the "Nuclear Proliferation" chapter.

World Poverty

1. T

2. F—Africa will likely continue to suffer severe food shortages.

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. F—The United States commits less than 1 percent of its annual budget to foreign aid.

7. F—Most aid goes to the Middle East and Latin America.

8. T

9. F—Most developing countries are near or south of the equator.

10. T

11. Malnutrition occurs when people have a diet that lacks proper nutrients.

12. The United States gives money to international aid organizations that then disribute these funds to needy countries.

13. Bilateral aid goes directly from one country to another country.

14. The Agency for International Development is a U.S. government agency that oversees a variety of development and humanitarian assistance programs.

15. The World Bank is a multilateral aid source that grants aid based on need rather than politics.

16. Students are asked to give both a pro and a con response to each of the three statements. Answers will vary, but should be factual. Teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. The United States gives aid: (1) to maintain a strong alliance system around the world; (2) to raise the standard of living in other countries, often enabling the recipients to buy more American products; (3) to promote political stability in a region by providing governments with military equipment and funds for economic development; and (4) for humanitarian reasons.

18. Development and humanitarian assistance helps developing nations build roads, power plants, schools, and hospitals and provides food for the hungry.

    Security assistance is used to strengthen the armed forces and economies of friendly governments, enabling such governments to buy American-made weapons, airplanes, and military vehicles, and to train soldiers for their national defense. It is also granted to friendly governments for general budget use and to finance development projects.

Sub-Saharan Africa

1. F—All but three African countries were under colonial rule.

2. T

3. T

4. F—UNITA fought a civil war in Angola.

5. T

6. F—Operation Restore Hope was designed to help starving people in Somalia.

7. T

8. T

9. F—The Cold War had little influence on U.S. policies in Africa. Many U.S. leaders believed Africa to be less important than other regions in containing communism.

10. T

11. Apartheid was the strict racial segregation policy of the South African government.

12. Until the 1950s and 1960s most of Africa was under the control of European countries. This practice was called colonialism.

13. The African National Congress, headed by Nelson Mandela, was elected to control the government of South Africa in the elections of 1994.

14. UNITA is an acronym for the Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola, a political movement and party led by Jonas Savimbi that is seeking control of the Angolan government.

15. The U.S. effort to bring order to Somalia and distribute food and medicine to starving people was called Operation Restore Hope.

16. Students are asked to write both a pro and a con response for each of three statements. Use "The Debate" section as a basis for determining appropriate answers. Students may also come up with other appropriate answers; therefore, teacher's judgment is important.

17. In April 1994, South Africa held its first fully democratic elections, allowing that country's 16 million blacks to vote for the first time. South Africa's democratic election was the culmination of the comprehensive political and social restructuring the country has undertaken over the past few years. Nelson Mandela, an antiapartheid activist and leader of the African National Congress (ANC), won the election and now leads a newly established multiparty government.

East Asia

1. T

2. F—It has declined steadily since reaching a peak in 1987.

3. T

4. T

5. F—China has had the fastest-growing economy.

6. T

7. T

8. F—China still has a communist government but allows capitalism to function in its economy.

9. F—The Japanese government gives aid to promising industries.

10. T

11. A trade deficit occurs when imports exceed exports in value.

12. The *Diet* is Japan's parliament.

13. Nations who receive most favored nation (MFN) trade status from the United States are given reductions in tariffs on goods they export to the United States.

14. The Mutual Security Treaty is a treaty signed in 1952 between the United States and Japan that ended U.S. military occupation but committed the United States to defend Japan in case Japan was attacked.

15. An attack on prodemocracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square by Chinese troops in 1989 resulted in thousands of deaths and injuries.

16. A consumer advocate would likely urge continued Japanese trade with few restrictions, because he or she would benefit from lower consumer prices and high quality products.

17. An unemployed autoworker would likely urge restrictions on Japanese imports so that U.S. industries, such as the automobile industry, could recover and expand and perhaps restore his or her job.

18. Many Americans think that Japan competes unfairly by erecting trade barriers to keep U.S. goods out of Japan and by undercutting U.S. manufacturers' prices on goods sold in the United States. Many Japanese blame the trade deficit on the high U.S. budget deficit, which keeps the value of the dollar high, and on the low U.S. savings rate, which reduces the available capital. Many Japanese, and some Americans, also say that U.S. consumers prefer Japanese goods because they are superior to American goods.

19. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Their answers must be factual, and the teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

Student Handouts

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Student Handout 1

The Federal Government

Ranking the Budget

Listed below are twenty categories of federal programs. You are the budget director and must present the final budget to the president. Rank the programs in order of priority using the number *1* for the most important item, down to number *20* for the least important. Also indicate the percentage of the federal budget that you want to devote to each category. You may eliminate any programs you believe unnecessary and add any you believe essential.

Priority Rank	Percent of Budget	
____________	____________	Defense
____________	____________	Foreign aid (technical, military, humanitarian)
____________	____________	Social Security increases
____________	____________	Subsidized housing for people with low incomes
____________	____________	Subsidy payments to farmers to maintain stable prices and inexpensive food
____________	____________	Food stamps
____________	____________	Space research and technology
____________	____________	Highway construction
____________	____________	National health program
____________	____________	Aid to education
____________	____________	Urban mass transportation
____________	____________	Unemployment benefits
____________	____________	Energy research
____________	____________	Postal service
____________	____________	Drug control
____________	____________	Environmental concerns (pollution control)
____________	____________	Student loans
____________	____________	Health research (AIDS, cancer, etc.)
____________	____________	Cost of living raises for government workers
____________	____________	Crime control (aid to states and local governments for law enforcement, training, and corrections)

After you have ranked the budget items, write a paragraph stating what you think will be the economic, social, and political implications of your budget.

1. Economic implications

2. Social implications

3. Political implications

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The Federal Government

Who's Who? After reading "The Clinton Administration" and "The 104th Congress" draw a line from each official in Column A to that person's description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
Donna Shalala	• State's attorney for Dade County before becoming attorney general
Leon Panetta	• Vice president of the United States
Warren Christopher	• Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin before becoming secretary of housing and urban development
Al Gore	• Head of the State Department; has promoted peace in the Middle East
Janet Reno	• Former U.S. representative from California and now chief of staff
Newt Gingrich	• Speaker of the House

The Budget Process. Below are five steps in preparing the federal budget. Study the chart on page 33 in *Current Issues* and then put the steps in their correct order by numbering from 1 to 5.

__________ Congressional committees hold budget hearings.

__________ The president submits the proposed budget to Congress.

__________ The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) draws up a budget reflecting the administration's priorities.

__________ The fiscal year begins.

__________ Congress passes authorization, appropriation, revenue-raising, and reconciliation bills.

Understanding the Supreme Court. After reading "The Supreme Court," write T for true and F for false next to each statement. If the answer is false, change the statement to make it true.

____ 1. Supreme Court justices are appointed for ten years.

____ 2. The judge who leads the Supreme Court is called the chief justice.

____ 3. Supreme Court decisions can be appealed.

____ 4. Conservative justices always interpret a case conservatively; liberal justices always interpret a case liberally.

____ 5. The two newest Supreme Court justices are Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Clarence Thomas.

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The Economy

Cause/Effect Relationships

Explain the relationship between each of the events in the pairs listed below. How may a. cause b. to occur?

1. a. Productivity (production per worker per hour) in many foreign nations is higher than in the United States.
   b. Foreign products cost less than equivalent U.S. products.

2. a. The value of the dollar rises in comparison to the value of other currencies.
   b. Unemployment in the United States increases.

3. a. The federal government spends more than it takes in each year in taxes.
   b. Interest rates for consumer loans increase.

4. a. Interest rates increase.
   b. Employment possibilities decrease.

5. a. Inflation is high.
   b. Fewer bank loans are available.

6. a. The government reduces taxes.
   b. Employment rises.

7. a. Unemployment rises in the United States.
   b. The federal budget deficit increases.

8. a. Americans buy fewer imports.
   b. Foreigners buy fewer American goods.

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Student Handout 4

The Economy

What Have I Read? As you read "The Economy," pay attention to the words in boldface or the headlines. They will help you draw a line from a word or term in Column A to its definition in Column B.

Column A	Column B
productivity	• amount of income a person receives if it does not change
taxes	• money that individuals and business pay the government for public services
recession	• value of goods a person can produce in one hour
budget deficit	• occurs when the economy is not growing and unemploy ment increases
fixed income	• the difference between how much money the federal govern ment spends and how much it takes in

Make a Choice. Think about what you have just read before choosing an answer.

1. Read "Inflation" and choose the best answer.

When inflation rises:

a. wages increase.
b. wages decrease.
c. costs increase.

2. Read "Recession" and choose the best answer.

The U.S. government might try to end a recession by:

a. increasing the federal interest rate to encourage savings.
b. decreasing taxes to encourage spending.
c. increasing taxes and spending more on social programs.

Current Issues for the Economy. Careful reading of the chapter will allow you to write short answers to each of the following questions.

1. What two things can the government do to reduce the budget deficit?

2. Which of the two is most popular with Americans?

3. Give one reason why some people think the government should provide training to unemployed people.

4. Give one reason why some people think the federal government should not provide training to unemployed people.

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Education

Research Outline

Use this handout to gather information you need to prepare a mock television report.

Topic: ________________________________

1. What are problems or areas of possible improvement?

2. What changes do I recommend?

3. Who will be influenced by my proposed changes?

4. How will they be influenced by my changes?

5. What are the benefits of my proposed changes?

6. What are the possible negative aspects of my proposed changes?

7. Other information:

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Education

What Is the Meaning of This? Match the words and terms in Column A with the best explanation in Column B by drawing a line between the two items.

Column A

Local control

Administrators

Literacy

Segregation

Busing

Public services

Vouchers

Column B

- Coupons that parents can use like cash to send their children to any school they choose
- Separating people by race
- Communities running schools instead of states or the federal government running schools
- Principals and superintendents
- Taking children from the neighborhood where they live to a school outside the neighborhood to balance the racial makeup of the school
- The ability to read and write
- Jobs that help the community, such as teaching or social work

What Have I Read? After you have read "Education" in *Current Issues*, complete the following sentences.

1. President Clinton's plan to reach national education goals is called ______________________________.
2. A program started by President Johnson for preschool children of low-income families is called __________.
3. Most tax money to support local schools comes from __________________ taxes.
4. Students who get loans from the government to go to college have to promise to _____________ the loans back after they graduate.

What Am I Looking At? Write an answer to each of the following questions after you have studied the photographs and chart.

1. Study the "Education Pays" chart on page 64 in *Current Issues.*
   - Which adults will earn the most money in a lifetime?
   - Which adults will earn the least money in a lifetime?
   - In one sentence, tell what message you got from this chart.
2. Study the photograph on page 58 and read the caption.
   - In what ways is your school different from the school shown in the photo?
3. Study the photographs on pages 59 and 67 and read each caption.
   - Could a photographer come to your school and take photos like this with similar captions? Why or why not?

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Women and Minorities

Discrimination Cases

Read each of the following fictional cases. Place a *C* in the blank if you think the ruling was correct and a *W* if you think it was wrong. Be ready to explain why you believe as you do.

____ 1. When an opening developed in a large corporation for a high-paying job, a less qualified white female employee got the promotion over a more qualified Hispanic man. In getting the promotion, the woman became the highest-ranking woman in the company. The Hispanic man sued the company demanding that he be given the job because he was more qualified. The white female employee countered by saying that if demoted she would have to go back to a job that paid considerably less. The court ruled in favor of the Hispanic man.

____ 2. An African-American man was unable to get a promotion because he did not have the training necessary for the higher-level job. The reason for his lack of training was that his company discriminated against African Americans in its training programs years ago. He sued, demanding a promotion along with the special training needed for him to succeed in the higher-level job. The court said he did not deserve the job because the company's job training program no longer discriminates. But the court also ruled that the company now had to train him and promote him the next time an appropriate job came along.

____ 3. A woman employed in manufacturing was unable to get a promotion in Company A because she lacked the training necessary for a higher-level job. However, she lacked training because she had been discriminated against by her previous employer—Company B. She sued Company B, demanding monetary compensation. The court ruled against Company B and gave the woman the money.

____ 4. An African-American man working in industry was unable to get a promotion because his poor education made him less qualified than a white male applicant. His poor education was the result of attending inferior, segregated schools in the South in the 1950s. He went to court, claiming that federal affirmative action guidelines entitled him to the promotion. His company argued that even though they would like to promote him, he simply was not qualified to do the job. The court, citing federal guidelines, forced the company to give the man the promotion and the training necessary to qualify him for the job.

____ 5. A Mexican-American woman, who recently became a citizen of the United States, was denied a promotion because her poor education made her less qualified than a white female applicant. Her poor education was the result of growing up in a nonsupportive environment in Mexico where her family was poor, her father abandoned the family at an early age, and she was never encouraged to excel in school. She went to court seeking the promotion under federal affirmative action guidelines, but her company argued that although they like to promote minorities, this woman simply did not have the skills to do the job. The court agreed with the company, saying that the wrongs done to her did not take place in the United States, but rather in Mexico when she was a child. The court also said that, now that she is a citizen of the United States, she has an excellent opportunity to improve her skills and make herself more employable.

____ 6. An African-American woman's application to a highly competitive medical school was rejected because other applicants had higher scores on their entrance exams. Her father—a doctor—sent her to private schools and the state university. She did well in college, but could not quite score high enough to gain entry into the medical school she desired. She sued for entry under affirmative action guidelines, and the school admitted her over several higher-scoring white males.

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Women and Minorities

If I. As you read "Women and Minorities," pay careful attention to words and terms printed in boldface type. They will help you complete the following sentences.

1. If I am not being given my rights and freedoms as a citizen, I am being denied my _______________ rights.
2. If I form a negative opinion about someone without much information, I am guilty of _______________.
3. If I had to pay to vote, the government was charging me a fee called a _______________.
4. If I joined an organized group of workers that was trying to improve working conditions and salaries for members, I would be a member of a _______________.
5. If I am married to someone, that person is my_______________.

A Cartoon Tells a Story. Answer each question after you have studied the cartoon on page 78 in "Women and Minorities."

1. Who is the person holding the flag in the back trench?

2. Which group does he want to keep out of the military?

3. According to the flags in the first two trenches, which other groups were not always welcome in the military?

What is the Meaning of This? Draw a line from the words or terms in Column A to the best explanation for each in Column B.

Column A	Column B
comparable worth	• laws that separated people by race
Plessy v. Ferguson	• "equal pay for equal work"
Jim Crow laws	• said that segregation was legal, as long as facilities were equal
Voting Rights Act	• said that rights would not be denied because someone was male or female
Equal Rights Amendment	• prohibits poll taxes and voter intimidation

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Student Handout 9

Poverty

Supporting Generalizations With Facts

The following statements are generalizations based on the information found in "Poverty" in *Current Issues*. If you agree with the generalization, list facts supporting it. If you disagree with the generalization, list facts refuting it.

1. The federal government cannot afford the social programs already in existence, much less expand them.

2. Tax-free enterprise zones are a poor investment of government money.

3. Government welfare perpetuates poverty instead of combating it.

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Student Handout 10

Learning New Information

Poverty

What Have You Learned? After reading "Poverty," you should be able to draw a line from Column A to a description that fits in Column B.

Column A	Column B
Great Depression	• Volunteer work to aid members of a certain community
public assistance	• A reward that motivates people to do something
community service	• Financial help from taxpayers to low-income or unemployed workers
incentive	• A time of high unemployment and poverty in the 1930s
subsidize	• To give money or aid to

Helping People in Need. Read "Helping People in Need" in "Poverty" to find the name of the government program that best completes each sentence.

1. The program that was created by President Roosevelt to aid widowed mothers is called______________.
2. As part of President Johnson's Great Society, people with low incomes may receive subsidized medical care, known as ______________.
3. The largest social program,______________, pays out money to retired people and their dependents.
4. To make sure that people with low incomes get enough to eat, the Department of Agriculture began the federal______________ program.

Welfare—What Do You Think? Write a complete sentence to answer each of the following questions.

1. What is one idea that government officials have to reform welfare?
2. What is one reason why some people oppose welfare reform?
3. After reading "Orphanages, Foster Care, or Welfare," on page 92 in *Current Issues*, where do you believe a needy child should live? Why?

What, Where, Why, How? Write a short answer to each question.

1. What are enterprise zones?
2. Where will enterprise zones be started?
3. How will the government help businesses that start up in an enterprise zone?

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Health Care

Student Survey

You may work together to find the correct response for each of the following true/false statements. Use any source of information necessary to complete the survey. If you cannot find the information, write down the answer you think is correct.

____ 1. In some states, family health insurance costs have risen as much as 400 percent since 1980.

____ 2. The average cost of a heart transplant is $162,000.

____ 3. Care for AIDS patients costs an average of $100,000 per patient.

____ 4. The health care industry accounts for about one-seventh of the nation's economy.

____ 5. People with low incomes are significantly less healthy than others.

____ 6. Federal, state, and local governments pay 40 percent of all health care costs.

____ 7. By 2000 the nation's health care bill will approach 1.6 trillion.

____ 8. Nearly 37 million Americans have no health insurance.

____ 9. The average cost of malpractice insurance for a doctor is $13,500 per year.

____ 10. Low-income women are less likely to see a doctor in the early stages of pregnancy than are middle- or high-income women.

____ 11. Low-income men are 40 percent more likely to die of heart diseases than are middle- or high-income men.

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Health Care

Understanding What You Read. As you read "Health Care," pay attention to the word or terms in boldface. Use them to complete the sentences below.

1. In 1994, President Bill Clinton asked Congress to______________, or change for the better, health care.
2. Members of Congress did not pass the Health Security Act because they thought it would bring higher taxes and more rules, or ______________.
3. President Clinton proposed the Health Security Act because many people cannot afford private__________, which helps pay for medical bills.
4. To give a preventative treatment by needle and drugs is to______________.

Agree or Disagree? Read and think about the following sentence: "The government should give health care coverage to all Americans." Listed below are some statements that either agree or disagree with that sentence. Write A in the blank if the sentence supports the government giving health care to all Americans. Write D in the blank if the statement opposes the government giving health care to all Americans.

__________ The government cannot afford to give health care to all Americans.

__________ The United States is the only industrialized country that does not provide health care for all its citizens.

__________ The United States should make smaller reforms to improve access to health care, without guaranteeing coverage for all Americans.

__________ Many Americans want health insurance but cannot afford it.

__________ Plans that would cover everyone cost too much.

__________ Citizens need health care.

What Is Your Opinion? After reading the "Health Care" chapter, answer the following.

1. Write one reason why some people think the government should raise taxes to help pay for health insurance for all Americans.

2. Write one reason why some people think that the government should not raise taxes to help pay for health insurance for all Americans.

3. Should the government raise taxes to help pay for health insurance for all Americans? In one sentence tell why you answered yes or no.

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Immigration

Immigration Candidates

You are a member of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Your task is to screen people who are interested in immigrating to the United States. All the candidates described below would like to enter the United States, but under current U.S. law, immigration is limited and restricted. In the space provided, explain why each of the following persons should or should not be allowed to enter the United States as a permanent resident:

William Babington Jr.—Thirty-nine years old; single; born and lived in Great Britain all his life; a college-educated engineer with a special skill in computer science.

José Mendoza—Forty-five years old; married with five children; native of Mexico, forced off his land by low agricultural prices and high inflation; willing to accept any job; desires that his children be given educational opportunities that he never had.

Griselda Chaidez—Sixty-two-year-old Cuban who refused to leave her sick mother when the rest of her family fled to the United States in the early 1980s. She now wants to join her son and daughter, who have become American citizens.

Ajit Patel—Twenty-nine years old; trained as a medical doctor in India; would like to come to America and begin a practice in pediatrics. His wife, Vanchhana, is a nurse. They have no children.

Phethsana Luangkhoth—Thirty-seven-year-old native of Thailand; owns the sandal manufacturing plant in which he first started working as a child. Married with three children.

Mayrling Reformado—Fifty-five-year-old Filipino civil rights worker; imprisoned twice by former President Marcos; was a member of the current administration until she began speaking out against civil rights abuses. She fears that if she stays in the Philippines, her life may be in danger.

Zbigniew Stawowy—Forty-year-old native of Poland; fed up with the religious intolerance he and his family have experienced. As a Jew, he often finds himself and his people being blamed for the economic hard times.

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Immigration

What Is That Word? As you read "Immigration," pay close attention to the words in boldface type. Then, write down the word or term that is best defined below.

1. ________________ A person from another country
2. ________________ An opinion, usually negative, that is not based on fact
3. ________________ Thoughts or beliefs
4. ________________ A person who flees his or her home country for safety elsewhere
5. ________________ A place where one is safe
6. ________________ Ability to speak and understand two languages

As you read "Immigration," pay careful attention to each immigration act mentioned. Then, draw lines from the acts in Column A to their descriptions in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
Immigration Act of 1965	• Required immigrants to have a place to live in the United States and pass a security test. Passed after World War II.
McCarran-Walter Act of 1952	• Allows the president to admit a certain number of refugees each year.
Displaced Persons Act of 1948	• Set an overall quota of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from theWestern Hemisphere.
Refugee Act of 1980	• Tried to stop the flow of illegal immigrants from Latin America. Gave immigrants a chance to become citizens.
Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986	• Added ideology to nationality as a test for admission to the United States.

A Letter to the President. First read "Economic Refugees" in *Current Issues*. Then, make believe that you are an economic refugee who wants to immigrate to the United States. Write a letter on the back of this handout asking the president of the United States to allow you to come into the country.

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Energy

Energy Survey

Age of respondent:

____ under 35

____ over 35

Below are several statements about energy sources and energy issues in the United States today. Circle A if you agree, D if you disagree, or U if you are undecided.

	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
1. Most domestic and world supplies of oil will be depleted within fifty years.	A	D	U
2. The government should fund the development of renewable energy sources such as solar, wind, and water.	A	D	U
3. The government should subsidize the U.S. oil industry to help it compete with other countries' oil industries.	A	D	U
4. The nation should make coal its major energy source.	A	D	U
5. Nuclear power is unsafe and should not be developed.	A	D	U
6. Higher gasoline taxes would promote conservation and help balance the budget.	A	D	U
7. Alternative sources of energy could supply all of America's energy needs.	A	D	U
8. I would be willing to change my lifestyle in order to conserve energy.	A	D	U

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Energy

If I . . . Study the words and terms that are in bold print in "Energy" and the explanations for each, and then complete each of the following sentences.

1. If I were going to move into a house in an area outside of the city, I would be living in a ____________.
2. If I owned a foreign company that shipped oil to the United States, I would be an oil ____________.
3. If I lived in a country that could pump all the oil it needed, my country would be __________ in energy.
4. If I heated my house with wood, my source of energy would be a ________________ source.

The Question Is. Read each of the following "answers" and then write a question to fit the answer.

1. These kinds of fuels have been formed from decaying plants and animals buried for thousands of years under the earth's surface.

2. This organization was formed by the world's leading oil-producing countries to regulate how much oil they would pump and how much it would cost.

3. Wind, water, and solar power are examples of this kind of energy source.

Every Picture (and Chart) Tells a Story. Write an answer to each of the following questions after you have studied the photographs and charts.

1. Study the photographs on pages 124 and 125 in *Current Issues.*
   - What two kinds of fuel do these photos display?
   - How are these two fuels alike?
   - How are they different?
2. Study the chart on page 128.
   - Which fuels do not pollute the air?
   - Which fuels does the United States have plenty of?
   - In one sentence, tell which fuel you think the United States should try to develop and why
3. Study the chart on page 131.
   - In what year did the United States import the most oil?
   - In what year did the United States import the least oil?
   - In one sentence, tell what lesson you have learned from this chart.

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Student Handout 17

Environment

Pollution Analysis

Type of environmental problem	Source or cause	Damage it causes	Extent of damage to date	Damage projections	Existing legislation
Global warming					
Ozone depletion					
Acid rain					
Nuclear waste					
Toxic waste					
Solid waste					
Endangered species					

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Environment

What's the Word? As you read the chapter on "Environment," pay close attention to the words or terms in boldface. Use them to complete the following sentences.

1. A long dry period of little or no rain is a ______________.
2. A natural area where plants and animals live is the ______________.
3. Heating that occurs when carbon dioxide traps the Sun's heat near Earth's surface, causing the temperature to rise higher than normal, is known as the ______________.
4. Certain areas where trash is buried are known as ______________.

What Did I Read? After reading "Dangers to the Environment," draw a line from each danger in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
Global warming	• Caused by air pollution in United States, this rain contains a high level of acid
Toxic waste	• Garbage—including paper and yard waste
Acid rain	• Poisonous materials left after a factory makes chemicals, metals, or plastics
Nuclear waste	• Radioactive materials made by nuclear reactions
Solid waste	• A rise in the temperature of the atmosphere

What Happens When? Decide what happens when the event in Column A takes place. Then, draw a line to that happening in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
When acid rain falls,	• polar caps may melt and the weather may change.
When ozone is lost,	• plants and animals find it hard to live in the soil, streams, and lakes.
When people create too much waste,	• they may have to recycle their own trash.
When global warming takes place,	• people may develop diseases or get sick and crops may be damaged because of harmful sun rays.

Tell Us Your Opinion. After you read the chapter, answer the following question.

1. Do you think that communities should require people to recycle certain items? Why or why not?

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Constitutional Rights

Constitutional Amendments

Complete the chart using information from "Constitutional Rights" in *Current Issues.*

Amendment Topic	Purpose	Supreme Court Decisions About the Amendment
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
14.		

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Constitutional Rights

Topic Research

Name of topic:

1. Why is your topic important?

2. What problems or issues does your topic pose?

3. List the positions that can be taken in regard to your topic.

4. What arguments can be offered to support each position?

5. What evidence did you find to support those arguments?

6. Who might be influenced by each position? How might they be influenced?

7. What are the costs to society of each position?

8. What are the benefits to society of each position?

9. What additional information would you like to have before making a policy recommendation? Where might you find this information?

10. What are your recommendations on this issue?

11. What steps can you take to promote the adoption of your policy?

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Student Handout 21

Learning New Information

Constitutional Rights

Find the Best Word. Search for the word in *Current Issues* printed in bold lettering that best completes each sentence.

1. Taking something by legal means is called ____________________.

2. The money a person must pay to get out of jail before trial is ____________________.

3. Many people, including judges, try to explain or ____________________ the meaning of the Constitution.

4. A developing human from usually three months after conception to birth is a ____________________.

5. A person younger than 18 years of age is a ____________________.

Constitutional Amendments. As you read, pay careful attention to the constitutional amendments mentioned in the chapter. Then, draw a line from the amendment in Column A to the best description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
First Amendment	• says that people accused of crimes do not have to testify against themselves
Fourth Amendment	• says that all races and genders must be treated fairly
Fifth Amendment	• gives freedoms of religion, speech, press, and assembly
Sixth Amendment	• protects people from unreasonable searches and seizures
Eighth Amendment	• prevents excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment
Fourteenth Amendment	• promises a person a speedy trial with a jury

Legalized Abortion: Yes or No? Read "Abortion" and "The Debate" in *Current Issues.*

1. In one sentence, tell one reason why some people think abortion should remain legal.

2. In one sentence, tell one reason why some people think abortion should be illegal.

3. On a separate page, write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper stating your opinion about abortion.

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Student Handout 22

Crime and Drugs

Community Crime Survey

Survey five membersof your community, asking each respondent whether he or she agrees or disagrees. Write each respondent's initials in the appropriate column, fitting the responses of all survey participants on this page.

	Agree	Disagree
1. Crime is a serious problem in my neighborhood.		
2. Stricter punishment and stronger law enforcement will reduce crime in the United States.		
3. Crime is concentrated in low-income neighborhoods in most cities.		
4. Unemployment and poverty are the indirect cause of most crime.		
5. Drug use and the drug trade are the causes of most crime.		
6. Strict gun control laws will curb violent crime.		
7. The right to own a gun is protected by the U.S. Constitution.		
8. Most people who are arrested for committing violent crimes go to prison.		
9. People who have been found guilty of at least three violent crimes should be imprisoned for life.		
10. Convicted criminals should be sent to prison for a mandatory length of time.		
11. Government should spend more money on drug prevention and less on punishment for drug users and traffickers.		

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Student Handout 23

Crime and Drugs

The Best Word Is. As you read "Crime and Drugs," pay close attention to the words and terms printed in boldface type. Then, use them to complete each sentence below.

1. People who live in the country or on a farm live in a ________________ setting.
2. Money given for a specific use, such as hiring more police officers, is called a ________________.
3. Supporters of gun control want owners to ____________ their handguns by placing their names on a list.
4. A person who engages in illegal trade (such as drugs) is a ________________.
5. A person who is in prison is called an ________________.

Learning From Charts. Sudy the chart on page 171 and answer the following questions.

1. What was the crime most frequently committed in 1993? How many times was this crime committed?
2. How many murders were committed in 1993? What is another word for murder?
3. Of the seven crimes on this chart, which would you call violent crimes? Which would you call nonviolent crimes?

Next, turn to the chart on page 175.

4. During what year was drug use highest among young people? In what year was it lowest?
5. Which substance is most commonly used among young people? Why do you think that is so?

What Do You Think? Some Americans have a bumper sticker on their car that reads, "Guns do not kill people. People kill people." With that slogan in mind, answer the following questions.

1. What do you think this bumper sticker means?
2. Would a member of the National Rifle Association place this bumper sticker on his or her car? Why or why not?
3. Would a supporter of the Brady bill place this bumper sticker on his or her car? Why or why not?

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Student Handout 24

Russia

Events in U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Russian History

Using *Current Issues* and other sources, list important events in U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Russian relations in appropriate places along the timeline. Write a brief statement of the effect of each event on relations between the two countries and then rate each five-year period from 5 (very positive) to 1 (very negative).

Time Period	Event	Effect on U.S.-Soviet or U.S.-Russian Relations	Rating (1-5)
1945-49			
1950-54			
1955-59			
1960-64			
1965-69			
1970-74			
1975-79			
1980-84			
1985-89			
1990-present			

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Russia

What Did I Do? After you have read "Russia" in *Current Issues*, draw a line from each name in Column A with one quotation in Column B that that person could have said.

Column A	Column B
Boris Yeltsin	• I resigned on December 25, 1991, because there was no more Soviet Union to rule.
John Kennedy	• I signed the SALT I Treaty with Leonid Brezhnev.
Leonid Brezhnev	• I locked myself and other communists in the parliament to keep Yeltsin from holding elections.
Richard Nixon	• I threatened the Soviets with nuclear war if they did not take get their missiles out of Cuba.
Mikhail Gorbachev	• I signed SALT II with U.S. President Jimmy Carter.
Alexander Rutskoi	• I started economic "shock therapy" in Russia after I became president.

Study the Map. Open *Current Issues* to page 184 and use the map of Russia and the other former Soviet republics to answer the following questions.

1. If you were in Finland and wanted to go to Japan, over what former Soviet republic would you fly?

2. If you were in South Korea and wanted to go to Kirghizstan, over what large Asian nation would you fly?

Every Picture (and Cartoon) Tells a Story. Write an answer to each of the following questions after you have studied the photographs and cartoon.

1. Look at the photographs on page 186 and page 194 in *Current Issues*.
   - How are these two pictures alike?
   - How are they different?
   - In one sentence, tell how the relationship between the United States and Russia has changed during the years between the times the two pictures were taken.

2. Look at the cartoon on page 197.
   - What are the people in the cartoon complaining about?
   - Who are they blaming for their problems?
   - In a sentence, tell one change you could make to the cartoon that would change its meaning.

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Student Handout 26

Defense

Defense Survey

Directions: For each item below, indicate with a check whether you agree or disagree. Be prepared to explain your position.

	Agree	Disagree
1. The best way to protect national security is to make the United States the strongest military power in the world.		
2. Because the economic well-being of the nation depends on securing adequate quantities of petroleum, the United States should do whatever is necessary to safeguard its sources.		
3. The United States should become part of a UN peacekeeping force, if such a force is necessary to maintain peace in far-off country.		
4. The greatest threat to national security today is not military warfare, but economic warfare.		
5. It is in the best interests of the United States to encourage the fledgling democratic movements around the world by providing generous economic and technical assistance.		
6. Environmental disasters like oil spills, the greenhouse effect, and the destruction of the rainforest, while tragic and regrettable, have very little effect on the national security of the United States.		
7. Reducing the defense budget below its present level would seriously jeopardize American security.		

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Student Handout 27

Defense

What Happened? After you read a section in "Defense," circle the letter of the answer that best fits.

1. Read "What Kind of Military Does the United States Need?"
   NATO was formed to oppose:
   a. the Soviet Union.
   b. Nazi Germany.
   c. the Warsaw Pact countries.
   d. both a and c.

2. Read "Using Force."
   The United States fought in Korea and Vietnam to:
   a. protect oil imports to the United States.
   b. throw out corrupt governments.
   c. contain communism.
   d. add new territory to the United States.

3. Read "The Changing Role of the U.S. Military."
   The United States sent soldiers to Haiti to:
   a. feed starving Haitians.
   b. restore a president who had been elected by the people.
   c. keep Haitians from coming to the United States illegally.
   d. fight communists.

4. Read "The War Powers Act."
   The War Powers Act restricts the power of:
   a. the president.
   b. the president and Congress.
   c. Congress.
   d. the Constitution.

The Word Is. Search for the word printed in bold lettering that best fits each of the following descriptions and write it in the blank.

1. The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1990: ____________________

2. Government decisions about how the United States will act toward other countries: ____________________

3. The overthrow of an existing government by a small group of people: ____________________

Learning From a Chart. Study the chart "U.S. Defense Spending" on page 212 and answer the following.

1. In what year did the United States spend the most money for defense?

2. Since that year, in what year has the United States spent the least money for defense?

3. In one sentence, write what you have learned from this chart.

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Latin America

A Plea for More Understanding

Sometimes I try to imagine what my life would be like if my parents hadn't moved to America. I have a cousin in Mexico, and he had to quit school to go to work and help his family. He takes care of livestock and works as a laborer, while I play football and finish high school. I would be working, too, if we had stayed in Mexico.

I feel the difference between Mexico and the United States from the moment I land at the airport in Guadalajara, when we visit our relatives. Everything is a lot cleaner in the U.S., even the airports, and the contrast of the poverty in Mexico hits you right away.

But there is a lot more to Mexico than poverty. Americans have a stereotype that Mexicans are lazy lowriders who drive around in cars with dice hanging from the rearview mirror. I've also heard people say that Mexicans are thieves. Sometimes at school, my friends will say, if something's lost or missing, "Well, Minio probably stole it." Though I know they are only kidding, it bothers me.

"Just Another Mexican"

I've seen cartoons where Mexicans are portrayed as drunk and snoring under a cactus. These stereotypes can cause real trouble. My father is a diabetic who has to take medicine constantly. If he doesn't, then he gets lightheaded. Once, my father fell down the steps at the post office and someone called the police because they thought he was drunk. He was trying to explain about his diabetes, but his English isn't very good, and the police brought him home and wouldn't listen to him. I guess they thought he was "just another drunk Mexican."

Americans often don't know the best things about our culture. In Mexico, the families are a lot closer than here. In many families, the grandparents still live at home and help take care of the grandchildren while the parents work.

In the small villages, like the one where my mother was born, many people have adobe houses, which they build themselves. They bring in truckfuls of dirt and mix it with water to make the adobe bricks, and let them dry in the sun. Then they put their houses together brick by brick. Does that sound like a lazy people?

Mexicans are also very religious. I was baptized, took first communion, and got all the sacraments. In Mexico, even the smallest towns have a church.

Living here, it is hard to keep the Mexican traditions, but we try. There are times when I feel really American, as if I didn't have any Mexican roots at all. That's usually when I'm around my friends.

Feeling Mexican

Other times, I feel really Mexican, like when I go to *charreadas* (that's a rodeo with mariachi music and dancing, and Mexican food) and everyone only speaks Spanish. I feel I really fit in there.

In Mexico, they think everyone over here is rich, because in comparison most Americans are better off. When I visit my relatives in Mexico, I buy my cousins Cokes and bring them clothes, because they don't have much.

I live in America and I'm happy here, but Mexico is in my heart. When I'm there, I love the evening ritual of meeting friends in the center of town. About an hour after the sun goes down, everyone gets together in the plaza. The girls walk around the plaza in one direction, and the boys all walk in the opposite direction. We carry tightly rolled up balls of crepe paper called *serpentinas*, and we throw them around the girls we like, so they get tangled up.

One of the big problems that Mexico has is corruption. My parents and my uncles have told me that, in Mexico, if you commit a murder or some big crime, you can get out of it by bribing the higher officials.

Americans need to understand the good things about Mexico. And they need to understand why so many Mexicans come here looking for work, to escape the poverty and the corruption. When my uncles, who work here illegally, were picked up by the border patrol and sent back, one of the immigration agents was nice to them. He knew they would come back as soon as they could. "Oh well," he said to them, "if it weren't for you, I wouldn't have a job."

"A Plea for More Understanding" by Minio Plata with Naomi Marcus. Appeared in *Update*, November 1988. Reprinted by permission of Scholastic, Inc.

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Student Handout 29

Latin America

What Country Is It? Read the Latin America chapter of *Current Issues*. Then, draw a line from each country in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
Mexico	• Ended a long civil war between the communist government and U.S.-supported *contras* in 1989
Haiti	• Former Portuguese colony and young democracy
Cuba	• Former French colony that United States threatened to invade if military refused to reinstate Aristide as president
Nicaragua	• U.S. neighbor that is a part of NAFTA; leader in social and economic change in Latin America
Brazil	• Ninety miles away from Florida, this country was the Soviet Union's ally for more than thirty years

Famous People. Using the "Latin America" chapter as a guide, complete the following sentences using the names of Latin American leaders.

1. The newly elected president of Mexico, ________________, is focusing on economic growth, just like the president before him, Carlos Salinas.
2. This reform candidate in Nicaragua, _______________, defeated Daniel Ortega in 1990.
3. Elected president of Peru in 1990, _______________, has dissolved Peru's congress and censored the press in the name of stopping a terrorist group, the Shining Path.
4. The leader of Cuba, _________________, recently signed an agreement with the United States whereby he would stop the illegal flow of Cubans to the United States if the U.S. government would allow up to 20,000 Cubans to enter the United States legally.

New Words. As you read "Latin America," pay attention to the words in boldface. Use these words to complete the following sentences.

1. The president of Mexico from 1988 to 1993, Carlos Salinas, carried out economic and social ___________.
2. The unrestricted exchange of goods between countries is called _______________ .
3. The United States placed a ____________ against Nicaragua, which meant the United States stopped trading with Nicaragua.
4. The government of Colombia has trouble with the country's powerful _______________ .

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The Middle East

Mideast Peace Proposals

Nation or interest group you represent: ______________________________

1. What is your primary objective?

2. What would be the ideal resolution of this situation for you?

3. What would be an acceptable compromise for you?

4. What outcomes would you be unwilling to accept?

5. What are you willing to offer to please all of the groups concerned?

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The Middle East

Following the Time Line. After you have read and studied "Time Line of Arab-Israeli Events" on pages 242 to 245 in *Current Issues*, answer the following questions.

1. What two religious groups live in Palestine around the city of Jerusalem?
2. In what year did these two religious groups first go to war?
3. What event led to that war?
4. Which Arab country was the first to make peace with Israel?
5. Why is the year 1993 important to peace in the Middle East?

What Have I Read? After you have read "The Middle East" in *Current Issues* complete each of the following sentences. Pay careful attention to words printed in bold lettering or other words you have not seen before.

1. The murder of millions of European Jews by German Nazis is called the ________________.
2. A small Middle Eastern country that has large numbers of both Christians and Muslims is _________.
3. People who believe in strict observance of their religious beliefs are called ________________.
4. Israel took the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and the Sinai Peninsula in the _________ War.
5. The leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is ________________.

Study the Map. Use the maps on pages 239 and and 246 of *Current Issues* to decide whether the following sentences are true or false.

_____ 1. Israel has four Arab countries and the Mediterranean Sea on its borders.
_____ 2. The Dead Sea borders on one side of the Gaza Strip.
_____ 3. Amman, Jordan, is less than 100 miles from Jerusalem.

Study the Cartoon. Study the cartoon on page 248 in "The Middle East," and then write a short paragraph telling what you think the cartoon is trying to show.

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International Trade

Fact-Finding Sheet

You are to develop and defend a comprehensive plan for reducing the trade deficit. To do this, you must evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of one of the approaches being considered by the president. Consider the steps necessary to implement each approach and what factors might make it difficult to make your approach work. This fact-finding sheet will assist you with your evaluation. Answer each of the following questions.

Approach: ____

1. What are the strengths of this approach?

2. What are its weaknesses?

3. How likely is this approach to be adopted?

4. What factors might block it from being adopted?

5. What would have to occur for this approach to be accepted?

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Student Handout 33

International Trade

Numbers and More Numbers. As you read "International Trade," you will see a lot of numbers. Most will be years or dollars. After reading the chapter, draw a line from each "number" in Column A to the description that best fits in Column B.

Column A	Column B
1930	• U.S. trade deficit in 1994
1944	• One of the first years of the Great Depression
$200 billion	• U.S. annual budget deficit in recent years
$65 billion	• Year when the Bretton Woods system was started
$151 billion	• U.S. trade deficit with Japan in 1994
1993	• Year when Congress approved NAFTA

Read and Think. Each of the following items will make you think. After you have read an assigned section, choose the answer that you think is correct.

1. Read "Protectionism" beginning on page 257.
   - If the U.S. government placed a quota on Japanese cars that were brought into the United States, the price of that car would probably:
     a. go up.
     b. stay the same.
     c. go down.
   - In one sentence, tell why you think your answer is correct.

2. Read "U.S. Trading Relationships" beginning on page 264.
   - Americans who do not like NAFTA, believe that the agreement will:
     a. ruin the Mexican economy.
     b. create too many low-paying jobs in the United States.
     c. cause thousands of U.S. jobs to move to Mexico.
   - In one sentence, tell what you think will happen because of NAFTA.

Chart and Cartoon Study. Answer the following questions after you study the "U.S. Trade Deficit" chart on page 263 and the cartoon on page 267.

1. What happened to the U.S. trade deficit between 1987 and 1991?

2. What happened to the U.S. trade deficit between 1991 and 1994?

3. What does the cartoon on page 267 tell you about U.S. goods coming into Japan?

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Student Handout 34

Europe

What Have I Learned? Choose a word or phrase from the list below to complete each sentence.

Yalta Marshall Plan GATT nationalism

1. The love and respect of one's country, religion, culture or ethnicity is called ______________________.
2. At a meeting at____________________, Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt decided how they would divide Europe after the war.
3. To help Europe rebuild after World War II, the United States gave Europe economic aid under the________________________.
4. More than 100 nations have agreed to lift trade barriers under a new trade agreement, called____________.

Yes or No? By carefully reading "Europe," you can answer each of the following questions with a yes or no.

1. Did European leaders agree to use a single system of money under the Maastricht Treaty?
2. Does the slogan, "When the United States has a cold, western Europe gets pneumonia," mean that the United States no longer wants to defend Europe?
3. Did Yugoslavia split up because of the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe?

Differing Opinions. Read the "Current Issues" and "The Debate" sections of the "Europe" chapter before writing an answer to each of the following questions.

1. Some people think that the U.S. economy would be helped if the United States gave aid to eastern Europe. Why do they think the United States would be helped?
2. Some people are afraid of sending U.S. aid to eastern Europe. What do they want to happen before the United States sends aid?
3. Why do some Americans think that the United States should send peacekeeping troops to Bosnia?
4. Many people do not think the United States should send peacekeeping troops to Bosnia. What do they think could happen to those troops?

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Student Handout 35

Nuclear Proliferation

What Have I Read? After you have read "Nuclear Proliferation" in *Current Issues*, complete each of the following sentences.

1. Friendly nations with similar goals are ______________ .
2. An agreement signed by leaders of two or more nations is called a ______________ .
3. To take property by legal process is known as ______________ .
4. To take apart weapons is to ______________ them.
5. A collection of weapons is an ______________ .

What's the Number? Use the chart on page 291 in *Current Issues* to find the number that will answer the following questions.

1. How many nuclear weapons did the United States have in 1990?

   How many nuclear weapons did the United States have in 1994?

2. How many nuclear weapons did the Soviet Union have in 1990?

   How many nuclear weapons did the Soviet Union have in 1994?

3. How many nuclear weapons does the United States expect to have in 2003?

   How many nuclear weapons does Russia expect to have in 2003?

What Do You Think? After reading the "Nuclear Proliferation" chapter and studying the chart on page 291, tell us your opinion. In a short paragraph, tell why you think the number of nuclear weapons expected in 2003 is too high, too low, or about right.

Learning from a Cartoon. Study the cartoon on page 296 and answer the following questions.

1. Look at the man sitting behind the desk. Where is he from?
2. Look at the man sitting in front of the desk. Where is he from? Is he being fooled? In what way?
3. What is the message of this cartoon?

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World Poverty

Cost/Benefit Chart

Complete the cost/benefit chart for each issue.

1. The United States should reduce foreign aid.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
LDCs		

2. Politics should determine who receives U.S. aid.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
LDCs		

3. The United States should promote family planning in less developed countries to stop population growth.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
LDCs		

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World Poverty

Fill in the Blanks. As you read "World Poverty," pay careful attention to the words and terms printed in boldface type. They will help you fill in the missing word or words in each of the following sentences.

1. Countries with low standards of living and poor economies are called ____________________ countries.
2. People who do not get enough to eat or have to eat food that does not keep them healthy and strong are called ____________________ people.
3. ________________________ is a condition in which people cannot afford to eat well or live comfortably.
4. Potential forms of wealth such as coal, oil, and fertile soil that nations have are called _________ resources.

Nations in Need. As you are reading "World Poverty," pay careful attention to the countries that are mentioned in the chapter. There are also countries mentioned in the charts and photograph captions. After reading, draw a line from each of the countries in Column A to the best description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
Somalia	• A Middle Eastern country that gets the most U.S. aid
Israel	• A Caribbean country where the government leased hotels to private companies
Jamaica	• A poor African country where the United States sent soldiers to help feed the people
Egypt	• A poor Caribbean country that received $80 million in U.S. aid in 1994
Haiti	• North African country where the UN International Conference on Population and development was held in 1994

Learning From Charts and Pictures. If you study the photographs and charts in "World Poverty" you will be able to answer these questions.

1. Look at the picture on page 304 and read the caption. Then, in one or two sentences tell why rapid population growth may harm the environment.

2. Study the chart on page 305 called "Recipients of U.S. Aid." Then, by using a globe or a world atlas, answer these questions.
   - Which of these ten countries are in the Middle East?
   - Which of these countries are in South America?
   - Which of these countries are in Africa?

3. Study the chart on page 309 called "How Long Do We Live?" Then, write a one sentence answer to the following question.
   - What does the information on this chart tell you about poverty and lifespan?

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Student Handout 38

Sub-Saharan Africa

Facts About an African Nation

Using information from *Current Issues* and other outside sources, answer the following questions.

Name of country:

Location:

Population size:

Population makeup:

Predominant religion:

Land area:

Natural resources:

Type of climate:

Type of government:

Primary occupations:

Manufactured products:

Per capita income:

On the back of this page write a paragraph telling your thoughts about the African nation you studied and its people. Conclude your paragraph by writing one or two sentences expressing what you think U.S. policy should be toward this country.

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Student Handout 39

Sub-Saharan Africa

Understanding What You Have Learned. As you read "Sub-Saharan Africa," play close attention to the words or terms in boldface. Use these words to complete the following sentences.

1. Many problems in sub-Saharan African began with European _______________ , which is the process of sending settlers to foreign lands.
2. A single ruler who heads a government and has all the power is a _______________ .
3. The U.S. government accuses Sudan's Muslim government of supporting _______________, the use of violence against nonmilitary people.
4. White South Africans _________, or crushed through an abuse of power, the black majority in South Africa.
5. Many African nations have experienced a _______________ , which is a conflict among two or more groups in a nation.

Which Country Is It? Draw a line between the African country in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
Rwanda	• Africa's largest country, this country faced famine because of civil war in 1994.
South Africa	• Civil war in this country on the Horn of Africa caused widespread famine.
Somalia	• White leaders of this country oppressed the black majority through apartheid.
Sudan	• Civil war broke out between the Tutsi and Hutu tribes, resulting in massacres.

Charts and Pictures Tell a Story. Use the charts and photographs in the chapter to answer the following questions.

1. Look at the chart on page 316. Which continent has the highest birthrate? How may that high birthrate affect the standard of living for the people who live there?
2. Look at the photo on page 317. Where are these people going? What caused them to leave their country?
3. Look at the photo on page 321. In one sentence, tell why this photo could be a symbol for the new South Africa.

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East Asia

Cause and Effect

Read the following article and then complete the activity below.

The public's anxiety about foreign investment has turned into an angry outcry against Japan. Real estate magnate Donald Trump says Japan is "ripping us like no one has ever ripped us before." ITT Corp. Chairman Rand Araskog says Japan already owns Hawaii—and "will own much of the United States" if its shopping spree continues.

In reality, it's much too late to shut the door. The USA already depends upon Japan for everything from sophisticated semiconductor technologies for weapons systems to money to run the U.S. government. Japanese-owned factories provide more than 260,000 U.S. jobs. At this point, kicking the Japanese out or blocking future Japanese investments would be next to impossible.

"We haven't quite awakened to the fact that we can't do without Japanese money," says Robert Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs' international division.

The situation presents to the United States one of its most vexing dilemmas of this century. Should the U.S. government take action to curb Japanese investment—and risk retaliation that could bring our nation to its economic knees? Or should Uncle Sam preserve our open door policy and run the risk that Japan could transform Hawaii, parts of California and other areas of the United States into economic colonies?

The debate about Japan is heating up despite the fact that the value of British-owned U.S. assets is two times higher than Japan's U.S. assets. Japan is the strongest economic challenger the United States has encountered since rising to world dominance. In the 1970s the oil rich OPEC countries boomed. But OPEC's livelihood was tied to a single raw material. Japan's has a wide base. It has the world's second largest GNP, the leading stock market and the world's ten biggest banks ranked by assets.

We also fear Japan because we don't understand Japanese culture and, for some people in the United States, bitter memories of World War II still burn strong.

"Up until now, most of America has been run by European influence," says John Oharenko, a vice president at Cushman & Wakefield real estate (agency) in Chicago. "It will take Americans some time to become accustomed to the cultural change. But they better get used to it. To simply say we don't like the Japanese is like burying your head in the sand."

To understand Japan's emergence, consider what has happened during the past ten years. Throughout the 1980s, Uncle Sam and U.S. consumers spent money as if there were no tomorrow. While we spent, the Japanese people saved—an average of $1 billion every working day. While our neglected auto, steel and machine tool plants aged, Japan re-invested its savings in factories that could produce high quality goods at extremely low cost.

Japan made a fortune selling us Toyotas, Sony Walkmans and compact disc players, then reinvested some of those profits in the United States. Japan spent $53 billion in the '80s acquiring CBS Records, Columbia Pictures and scores of other prestigious properties. ITT's Araskog might criticize Japan, but his company sold five Sheraton hotels in Honolulu to the Japanese. Japan became the biggest buyer of U.S. Treasury bonds, long-term securities used to finance the U.S. government. Over time, the USA-Japan relationship evolved from simple two-way trade into a tangled web of interrelationships.

"The man in the street simply gets angry about Japanese buying up America," says Dan Burstein, author of *Yen: Japan's New Financial Empire and Its Threat to America*. "He has to realize that we can't curtail it. We need them as much, if not more, than they need us."

If the Japanese suddenly decided to sell their U.S. properties, it wouldn't really matter much. But if the Japanese lose confidence in the U.S. economy and quit investing here, we'd be in big trouble. We are now dependent upon Japan to:

- **Keep Uncle Sam afloat.** Every time the Treasury conducts a T-bond auction, the Japanese buy 15 percent to 30 percent of the thirty-year bonds. If the Japanese chose not to participate in an auction, "it would have a major effect," says Hormats. "You'd have a big run-up in interest rates. That would push the stock market and dollar down."

  Harvard economist Lawrence Summers offers a more chilling scenario. If the Japanese suddenly quit buying T-bonds and withdrew their U.S. bank deposits, the Federal Reserve would be faced with the choice of two evils. It could increase the supply of money to provide cash to banks which would make the dollar nosedive. Or it could protect the dollar by raising interest rates, which would cut banks off from needed cash and could cause many to fail.

- **Play a steady hand in our stock market.** The power Japan wields on Wall Street cannot be overestimated. On any given day, Japanese investors are responsible for up to 25 percent of the daily volume of stocks traded on the New York Stock Exchange. Some experts believe that decisions by Japanese investors triggered the decade's two biggest market downturns—the October 19, 1987, crash and the October 13, 1989, plunge.

  The 1987 crash began after the Japanese, who were nervous about a weaker dollar, sold an enormous amount of thirty-year Treasury bonds. That forced the Treasury to boost T-bond interest rates above 10 percent to attract investors—and it worked. Investors abandoned stocks for bonds in droves. "That, to me, is what really started the 19th—a worry by the Japanese about the U.S. currency," says Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, chairman of a presidential commission that examined the 1987 crash.

  The market plunged in October after two Japanese banks, Sanwa and Sumitomo, decided not to back a proposed $6.75 billion purchase of UAL Corporation by UAL's managers. That convinced shareholders that if a blue chip giant such as United Airlines couldn't get financing, nobody could.

- **Act as the USA's banker.** In the 1980s, Japanese banks provided 25 percent of the money for U.S. mergers and acquisitions, including cash for Kohlberg Kravis Roberts' $24.6 billion purchase of RJR Nabisco and Philip Morris' $5.6 billion purchase of General Foods. Japan's big banks have the resources to singlehandedly back a $100 million-plus transaction. U.S. banks usually have to form syndicates to raise such hefty sums. Until now, the Japanese have avoided using their financial clout to disrupt our economy. But the Japanese government and its people also have begun to openly criticize the United States and its policies. A Japanese economist recently called for a law that would automatically slash Japan's purchase of U.S. Treasury bonds if we imposed trade sanctions. Says Hormats, "If we did something to restrict their investments here, they might do something like that."

Experts say U.S. leaders have to proceed cautiously, recognizing Japan's looming presence in our economy. Many believe that keeping our doors open and investing in our own firms and schools to become more competitive is the best path to take. If we slap Japan with trade restrictions, we run the risk that Japan will spot better opportunities elsewhere and abandon us.

"You can make a powerful case that countries have prospered to the degree to which they have been open to the world," says Jim Powell, author of *The Gnomes of Tokyo*. "If we shut them out, we'd have stagnation, backwardness and decline."

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1. List three reasons why the author believes the United States cannot do without Japanese money.

   a.

   b.

   c.

2. What happened in recent years, according to the article, that caused the present situation?

3. Complete the following chart. The first column describes an action that the United States or Japan could take. In the second column, list the consequences or effects that action might have.

Action **(Cause)**	**Reaction** **(Effect)**
1. The Japanese suddenly decide to stop buying American commercial real estate and businesses.	
2. The Japanese lose confidence in the economy and quit investing in treasury bonds.	
3. The United States imposes trade restrictions on Japanese goods.	

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East Asia

Fill in the Blanks. As you read "East Asia," pay close attention to the word or terms in boldface. Use these words to best complete each of the following sentences.

1. In November 1994, President Clinton and leaders from Asia signed an agreement aiming for __________, or trade without barriers.
2. The Japanese government has limited ____________________, or goods bought from other countries, from competing with Japanese goods.
3. Japan relies on international trade because it is an island with few __________ __________, or a supply of materials that grow or occur in a certain place.
4. In 1994, many economists feared a series of trade barriers that countries impose on each other, or a ______________, might have begun between the United States and Japan.
5. In 1989, many Chinese students and workers who wanted Deng to change China's political system ______________, or gathered publicly, and shared views in Tiananmen Square.

What Is Your Opinion? In one complete sentence, answer the questions below about the U.S. trade relationship with China.

1. What is one reason why the United States should not promote trade with China until China improves human rights?
2. What is one reason why the United States should promote trade with China, whether or not China improves its human rights?
3. What do you think? Should the United States promote trade with China only if they improve their human rights?

What Is the Cartoon's Message? Political cartoons use symbols to tell their message. Study the cartoon on page 340 and then answer the following questions.

1. Who is the man in the cartoon?
2. What is the man talking to? What does this object represent?
3. From reading the chapter, do you think China listened to the man's message?
4. What do you think the cartoonist was trying to say?

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